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ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ

INSTITUTUL DE ARHEOLOGIE „VASILE PÂRVAN”
CENTRUL DE TRACOLOGIE

SERIE NOUĂ

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The Tombstone of Longinus, son of Sdapezematygus frim Serdica (pago sardi).

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THRACO-DACICA 2009

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FOREWORD TO THE NEW SERIES

The general aim of the promoters of Thraco-Dacica, The Romanian Academy and the Institute of Archaeology "Vasile Pârvan" from Bucharest -Romania has been already explained in a Foreword of the first number of the Journal; but it may be well in our first number of the New Series, which resumes after many years the publication, briefly to point the new directions of the Journal, and the results which we hope may follow from its second establishment. As regards its subject-matter, the Journal will deal with all that concerns the study of the history, archaeology, language and art of the Thracian world from the earliest times (16th century B.C.E.) down to about C.E. 700, as well as with the history of pre-historical and classical scholarship up to the present time. Papers are intended to make a fresh and significant contribution to the understanding of the Thracian world in its largest acceptance and to stimulate further discussion. Oriental languages and history, and general or comparative philology, will be included only in so far as they are directly related to the languages and history of Thraco-Dacians.

It is evident that it will be necessary to define our subject still further if it is to be brought within reasonable compass, so as to admit of thorough treatment in the pages of Thraco-Dacica. This limitation we hope to gain, in the first place, by taking as our starting point and chief concern the interpretation of the archaeological evidence and the ancient texts. Another limitation will arise out of our manner of treating the subject. Our aim is not so much to provide original matter as to supply an index and chronicle of all that is being done in the field of Thracology. It is thought that a publication based on these lines will supply a real want which has long been felt in this country. Whereas in Bulgaria, for example, there are a multitude of periodicals devoted to the exclusive study of Thracian Antiquity, some of them coming out as often as once at each semester, Romanian scholarship has produced since 2002 up to the present time no single periodical of frequent or even regular issue which devotes itself to the different requirements of students in Thracian world. For notes and news of historical and archaeological interest, as well as for reviews of books, scholars have had to depend almost entirely on other journals of history and archaeology, in which only a very limited space could be allotted to any special department. We hope then to make THRACO-DACICA a critical record of the work of the year, so far as regards Romanian publications.

Acad. Alexandru Vulpe
Director of the Institute of Archaeology "Vasile Pârvan", Bucharest

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GEDANKEN ZUR CERNAVODĂ II-KULTUR (im Lichte der neusten Forschungen von Mironeşti–*Malul Roşu*, Bezirk Giurgiu)

CRISTIAN SCHUSTER, TRAIAN POPA, MARIN PANAIT

Schlüsselwörter. Mironeşti–*Malul Roşu*-Siedlung, Cernavodă II-Kultur, Verbreitungsraum, Siedlungen, Gräber, archäologische Güter.

Zusammenfassung. Anhand der Siedlung von Mironeşti–*Malul Roşu*, der dort entdeckten Materialien, wird eine Analyse der Cernavodă II-Kultur an der Unteren Donau durchgeführt. Es wird auf das Verbreitungsgebiet, insbesondere seiner Westgrenze, auf den Siedlungs- und Bestattungsstyp, die Keramik und Tonplastik hingewiesen. Die Forschungsgeschichte wurde desgleichen nicht vergessen.

Cuvinte cheie: aşezarea Mironeşti–*Malul Roşu*, cultura Cernavodă II, arie de răspândire, aşezări, morminte, materialul arheologic.

Rezumat. În baza celor descoperite în aşezarea de la Mironeşti–*Malul Roşu*, se face o analiză a culturii Cernavodă II la Dunărea de Jos. Se insistă asupra ariei de răspândire, în special asupra graniţei sale de Vest, asupra tipului de habitat, rit şi ritual de înmormântire, ceramică şi plastică. Nici istoricul cercetării nu a fost uitat.

DIE CERNAVODĂ II-SIEDLUNG VON MIRONEŞTI–*MALUL ROŞU**

Die Ortschaft Mironeşti[1], Gemeinde Gostinari, Bezirk Giurgiu, ist in der archäologischen Fachliteratur hauptsächlich durch die mittelalterlichen, getischen, bronze- und hallstattzeitlichen Entdeckungen bekannt. Zu den ersten zählen die Kirche und die Ruinen des Gehöftes des entwickelten Mittelalters[2] und die Spuren der frühmittelalterlichen Dridu-Kultur[3]. Weiter sind die Sântana de Mureş-Siedlung und ihr Töpferofen[4], die getischen Funde in den Punkten *Coastă*, *La Ruine* und *Malul Roşu*[5] und die bronzezeitlichen Fundorte in den Punkten *Cariera de Lut*, *Coastă*, *Conac lui Palade/C.A.P.* (Taf. I/1-2), *La Panait* (Glina- und Tei-Kultur)[6] und *Malul Roşu* (Tei III und Spät- und Endbronzezeit: Coslogeni- und Radovanu-Kultur)[7] zu nennen.

Die in den letzten Jahren im Punkt *Malul Roşu* (Taf. I/1-2) durchgeführten Forschungen, erlaubten das Entdecken von Spuren der hallstattzeitlichen Basarabi-Kultur[8], des frühbronzezeitlichen Cățelu Nou-Mironeşti-Aspekts[9], der endäneolithischen Cernavodă I-Kultur und die der Übergangsperiode vom Äneolithikum zur Bronzezeit, u.z. die Kulturen Cernavodă III und Cernavodă II[10]. Der vorhandene Beitrag setzt sich eben diese letztgenannten Funde der Cernavodă II-Kultur näher zu betrachten zum Ziel.

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* Unser Aufsatz wurde im Juni 2008 abgeschlossen.

[1] Ghinea 1996, 632 f.

[2] Cantacuzino, Sion 1990.

[3] Barbu 1989, 379 f.

[4] Barbu 1988, 173; 1989, 379 f.; 1996-1998, 155-164.

[5] Sîrbu, Schuster, Popa 1997, 240 f.; Schuster, Popa, Grofu, Panait 2003, 199, 435.

[6] Schuster, Popa 1995, 38 ff.; 2000, 143 f.; Schuster 1997, 198; 1998, 146; 2005a, 97 und Karte 19/30a-e; Leahu 2003, 22; Schuster, Fântâneanu 2005, 32 f. und Karte 7/17a-b.

[7] Schuster, Popa 1995, 40; Schuster 1998, 147; 2005a, 97 und Karte 19/30f; Schuster, Popa, Grofu, Panait 2003, 199, 435.

[8] Popa, Schuster 2008.

[9] Schuster, Popa, Panait, Panait 2008.

[10] Sieh auch Schuster, Comşa, Morintz, Popa, Panait 2006.

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Der Grabungsort *Malul Roşu* ist ein hochgelegener Terrassensporn des rechten Argeş-Ufers. Durch seine Höhe (ungefähr 82 m über dem Wasserspiegel) nimmt er eine dominante Position in der Umgebung ein und war dadurch ein Anziehungspunkt für die verschiedenen Gemeinschaften (Taf. II/1).

Heute ist ein grosser Teil (ca. 1/3) des Sporns durch Erdrutsche beschädigt worden (Taf. II/2). Die archäologischen Forschungen werden zurzeit auch durch die starke Bewaldung beschwert.

Die Basarabi-Bevölkerung bereicherte die natürlichen Gegebenheiten durch Versteilung und -tiefung der Abhänge des Sporns und hub auch einen Abwehrgraben, der mit einem Erdwall versehen wurde, aus, so dass die Siedlung von der Aussenwelt abgeschirmt wurde. Das Plateau des Sporns wurde in der getischen Periode wahrscheinlich geräumt und gesäubert (rituell?), so dass die Spuren der dort liegenden prähistorischen Siedlungen stark mitzutragen hatten. Heuer ist eine wichtige Menge des vorgetischen Materials an den Spornabhängen zu finden.

Trotzdessen konnten im Jahre 2002 die Überreste einer Cernavodă II-Behausung[11] und im Jahre 2007 ein Feuerherd erforscht werden. Das Haus lag im *Schnitt 1*, der auf der Westseite des Sporns ausgerichtet wurde, in 0,70 m Tiefe. Leider konnte nur ein Teil des Oberflächenhauses analysiert werden, da die Ausbreitung der Grabung durch die Bäume der Plantage behindert wurde (Taf. III/1).

Der uns zur Verfügung gestandene Hausteil (in den *Quadratten 8-10, Teil A*) hatte eine Größe von etwa 2,00 × 0,4 m und bestand aus gebranntem Lehmbewurf (einige Brocken wiesen Spuren des Ruttengeflechtes und der Hauspfosten auf), Keramikscherben, Tierknochen (Schafs-, Ziegen- und Schweineknochenreste), Asche und relativ breite, gelbe, hartgestampfte Hausbodenpflecken (Dicke ca. 0,03/0,06 m) (s. auch Taf. III/2: *Profil des Schnittes I/2002*).

Professor Petre Roman, den wir zu Rate zogen, und dem wir hier erneut für seine Zuvorkommendheit den nötigen Dank aussprechen, deutete die Keramik (Taf. IV-VI), welche sowohl in dem Umfang des Hauses, als auch rings um dieses gefunden wurde, als der Cernavodă II-Kultur angehörend.

Über die Häuser unserer Kultur ist fast nichts bekannt. Sebastian Morintz und Petre Roman[12] und Dumitru Berciu, S. Morintz und P. Roman[13] erwähten nur, ohne Einzelheiten preiszugeben, dass im Cernavodă-*Sektor b* die gebrannten Überreste einer „*geräumigen Oberflächenwohnung*" gefunden wurden.

Valeriu Leahu hat in Bucureşti-*Cățelu Nou* eine Erdwohnung, welche teilweise, in ihrem Oberteil, von einem anderen Haus desselben Typs, aber aus der Bronzezeit, beschädigt wurde, entdeckt[14]. Das Haus war oval-unregelmässig (4,20 × 3,70 m), besaß an einem der Enden (das schmalere), wo wahrscheinlich der Eingang lag, zwei Treppen und in seiner Mitte eine glockenförmige Grube (2,20 m im Sohlendurchmesser, bzw. 1,10 m tief) und am anderen Ende eine weitere Grube, die sich sackförmig (Durchmesser = 0,42 m, Tiefe = 0,50 m) gestaltete. Das Inventar des Hauses bestand aus Keramik, eine knocherne Meißel[15], ein zoomorpher Tonidol und viele Schweine-, Schafs-, Ziegen- und weniger Rinderknochen.

Die Keramik aus Mironeşti, die sowohl im Haus, als auch in der Kulturschicht zu finden war, ist leider sehr fragmentarisch. Genauso wie für andere Fundstellen, so auch in Mironeşti-*Malul Roşu* gibt es nach der Tonmischung drei Keramikgattungen: feine, gute und grobe. Der Prozentsatzt dieser letzten ist der größte (ca. 50%). Ihr folgt jene gute und an letzter Stelle die feine, welche ungefähr 10% darstellt.

a. *grobe Keramik* (Taf. III/1-7): Tonmischung, in der viele größere Sand- und zermahlte Kalkarkörner zu sehen sind. Die Formen werden durch größere Gefäße, wie sack- und einmachglassähnliche oder Schüsseln vertreten.
b. *gute Keramik* (Taf. IV/1-8): Tonmischung aus feinem Sand und kleinen Kalkarkörner. Zu den Formen zählen Einmachgläsßer, bauchige Gefäße, Amphoren und Schüsseln.
c. *feine Keramik* (Taf. V/1, 3-10): Tonmischung aus feinem Sand. Kleine Gefäße: Schüsseln, Tassen (?).

Die Gefäße wurden mit eingetieften Musterelementen (Kerben am Gefäßrand, Kerben und Wolfszähne auf der Gefäßschulter oder dem maximalen -durchmesser) verziert. Seltener besteht die Verzierung und nur im Falle der groben Keramik aus Reliefleisten. Nur bei zwei Scherben waren feine Kanneluren zu

[11] Sieh desgleichen Schuster, Popa, Grofu, Panait 2003, 199 und Taf. 81/2.
[12] Morintz, Roman 1968, 106.
[13] Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 376.
[14] Leahu 1965, 14 und Abb. 3.
[15] Leahu 1965, Abb. 4-8.

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beobachten. Obwohl die Scherbenmenge aus Mironcşti eher als gering einzuschätzen ist, muß unterstrichen werden, dass es für die hier entdeckte Keramik gute Analogien für alle Gefäßformen und für die Verzierungstechnik und -art in anderen Cernavodă II-Siedlungen gibt[16].

ZUR CERNAVODĂ II-KULTUR IN RUMÄNIEN

Ohne uns unbedingt eingehend mit der Forschungsgeschichte der Cernavodă II-Kultur beschäftigen zu wollen[17], sind wir der Meinung, dass einige Akzente gesetzt werden müssen. Äußerung der Übergangsperiode zur Bronzezeit[18], welche die Dobrogea, Südmoldau und Ost- und Mittelmuntenien zu ihrem Verbreitungs- und teilweise Entstehungsgebiet zählte, wurde nach Morintz und Roman „*wahrscheinlich auf einem gemischten Untergrund Usatovo-Spätcernavodă I mit kulturellen Einflüssen von Norden von der Variante Horodiştea-Gorodsk*" aufbaut[19].

Dieselben Autoren schrieben ein Jahr später[20]: „*Nach dem Ausgang der Kulturen Cucuteni, Cernavodă I, Gumelniţa und Sălcuţa und vor dem Auftauchen der Glina-III-Kultur kennen wir eine ganze Reihe von Kulturen, Fundverbänden oder Kulturvarianten. So erscheint im Gebiet der Donaumündungen die Folteşti-II-Kultur (= Cernavodă II), die sich klar von Folteşti I (Usatovo) und Cernavodă I abhebt*".

Nach P. Roman[21] ist „*In der Süd- und Zentraldobrogea, in Südostmuntenien die Etappe Folteşti II (Cernavodă II) vorherig der Cernavodă III-Kultur...In Mittelmuntenien treffen wir sowohl die Etappe Folteşti II als auch den Horizont Folteşti III, dokumentiert in Cătelu Nou, an*".

Derselbe Gelehrte zeigt zwanzig Jahre später[22], dass die Cernavodă II-Kultur ihre Hauptwurzeln im Norden, in der Moldau, Volinien und Podolien hat. Die Siedlungen dieser Kultur erscheinen nach Roman in der Dobrogea, Ostmuntenien und Nordostbulgarien in einem ehemaligen Cernavodă III-Gebiet. Eine wichtige Rolle im Entstehen des Folteşti II-Cernavodă II-Phänomens spielte, gemäß Roman, neben dem Horodiştea-Folteşti-Einfluß, auch die Kugelamphorenkultur.

Sebastian Morintz und Barbu Ionescu[23] postulierten zum ersten Mal die Umkehrung im Sinne Cernavodă I, III, II, Hypothese die von allen Wissenschaftlern zurzeit akzeptiert wurde[24].

D. Berciu, S. Morintz und P. Roman betrachteten 1973 die Cernavodă II-Kultur als fremd von den Kulturen Cernavodă I und Cernavodă III und ihre „*Analogien und Verwandtschaft*" seien eher in der Moldau von Horodiştea bis Folteşti zu suchen[25].

Marin Dinu[26], ohne die Zeitgleichheit und einige Verbindungen der Folteşti-Cernavodă II-Gemeinschaften mit denen des Horodiştea-Typs abzustreiten[27], spricht von einem einheimischen Charakter der Cernavodă-Kultur[28]. Beweise dafür sind seiner Ansicht nach die anthropomorphe Plastik, ein Teil der Keramik (Schüsseln mit *S*-förmigem Profil und mit breitem Rand; Gefäße mit zylindrischem Rand; *Askoi*), der Rohstoff der Steinwerkzeuge und der Haustyp. Diese alle haben ihre Wurzeln in der Cernavodă I-Kultur.

Zur ersten Beweiskategorie zählen nach Dinu die Idole von Folteşti, Stoicani, Vişina-Calud, Erbiceni-Iaşi[29] und Cernavodă-*Sektor b*[30], die alle ihre Vorgänger unmittelbar in der Cernavodă I-Plastik von

[16] Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973.

[17] Dazu sieh Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 390 ff.

[18] U.a. Morintz, Roman 1968, 122 ff.; Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 397; Vulpe 2001, 228 und Abb. 30; Irimia 2002-2003, 33.

[19] Morintz, Roman 1968, 123.

[20] Morintz, Roman 1969, 63.

[21] Roman 1969, 20.

[22] Roman 1989, 53.

[23] Morintz, Ionescu 1968, 124.

[24] U.a. Morintz, Roman 1968, 106 ff.; Roman 1992, Anm. 1; Roman 2001a, 348 f.

[25] Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 397 f.

[26] Dinu 1998, 35 ff.

[27] Eine Diskussion über die Forschungsgeschichte, sieh Dinu 2002.

[28] Dinu 1998, 35 ff.

[29] Dinu 1998, Abb. 1/2-9, 2/1-2.

[30] Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, Taf. 12/1-2.

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Cernavodă-*Dealul Sofia* und Râmnicelu[31] zu suchen haben. Interessant zu unterstreichen ist aber[32], dass „*die sehr typischen Cernavodă III-Figuren... sich von der Cernavodă I-Kultur klar unterscheiden*". Und wie wir jetzt wissen, „*schiebt*" sich Cernavodă III teilweise zwischen Cernavodă I und Cernavodă II, so dass das Gefühl erweckt wird, dass irgendwie das kulturelle Bindeglied fehlt.

Bezüglich dem Haustyp, ein weiteres Argument nach Dinu, sei zu vermerken, dass die Cernavodă I-Gemeinschaften nicht nur Erdhütten, so wie die Grabungen von Cernavodă-*Dealul Sofia* oder Râmnicelu entbarten[33], sondern auch Oberflächenhäuser – Hârşova, Renie, Ulmeni-*Tăuşanca*[34] bauten. So dass ein solcher Vergleich, genauso wie mit der teilweise zeitgenössischen Cernavodă III-Kultur, nicht stichhaltig ist.

Trotz der noch immer unklaren wirklichen südlichen Einflüße, ist das Vorhandensein der *Askoi* in der Cernavodă II-Keramik diesbezüglich ein wichtiges Beweisstück. Dafür sprachen sich sowohl Morintz und Roman[35], als auch Dinu[36] aus.

Florentin Burtănescu ist mit Roman's Hypothese bezüglich der Entwicklung der Folteşti II-Kultur und mit deren kulturellen Wurzeln einverstanden. Ihm zufolge[37], setzt sich ein Teil der Folteşti IIa-Gemeinschaften (= Folteşti II nach Roman) unter dem Druck der von Norden und Osten nach Süden kommenden Jamnaja-Gruppen in Bewegung und führt zur Entstehung im Osten Munteniens und in der Dobrogea des Aspekts Cernavodă II, welcher synchron mit Folteşti IIb (= Folteşti III nach Roman) ist. Daher ist Folteşti IIa als post-Usatovo zu betrachten und Folteşti IIb als zeitgleich mit dem ersten Teil der klassischen Jamnaja.

Nach P. Roman bildet die Cernavodă II-Kultur, die der zweiten Periode mit schnurverzierter Keramik angehört[38], „*die Grundlage, aus welcher die Kultur des westpontischen Kreises entsteht*"[39].

Als P. Roman[40] über die frühbronzezeitliche Glina-Kultur sprach, nannte er unter den wichtigsten genetischen Vorfahren dieser die Cernavodă II-Kultur. Diese Hypothese ist heute als einleuchtend in die Fachliteratur eingegangen[41]. In diesem Rahmen sei zu erinnern, dass D. Berciu, S. Morintz und P. Roman[42] schon 1973 auf einen „*Fall mit echten durchtriebenen Buckelchen, die auf der Schulter einer Schüssel (?) von außen nach innen gemacht wurden*" hingewiesen haben. Auf der *Taf. 14/11* des Aufsatzes derselben Autoren ist ein weiteres Keramikbruchstück, diesmal mit von innen nach außen gepreßten Buckelchen, zu sehen. Und bekannt ist, dass diese Verzierungsart die Charakteristika der Glina-Keramik darstellt[43].

Im Zusammenhang mit diesem letzten Cernavodă II-Beispiel, ist H. Parzinger der Meinung[44], dass „*die in Cernavodă II-Zusammenhängen nicht seltenen Gefäße mit kleinen, von innen herausgedrückten Buckeln... eine Verbindung zur Glina III-Ware herstellen...Cernavodă II könnte demnach den zwischen Cernavodă III und Glina III liegenden Zeitraum füllen, doch gründet sich dies Annahme bisher nur auf formenkundliche Überlegungen, denn entsprechende Stratigraphien fehlen noch*".

Es ist zu vermerken, dass auch in Mironeşti-*Malul Roşu* Scherben mit durchtriebenen Buckelchen gefunden wurden, diese aber gehören uneinwandbar nach ihrer Machart und Tonmischung der frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur an.

An die Glina-Kultur erinnern auch weitere Scherben (die auf trompetenartige Schüsseln des *Typs 7.2.* nach Schuster z.B. aus Bucureşti-*Glina*, Greci u.a. hinweisen[45]), diesmal aber aus Boian-*B*[46].

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[31] Morintz, Roman 1968, Abb. 1/1-3; Harţuche 1980; 2001, Abb. 7/14; Dinu 1998, Abb. 1/1; Manzura 1999, 143 und Abb. 7.9/1-3, 7.25/1; Roman 2001a, Abb. 4/1-6.

[32] Gemäß Roman 2001b, 19 und Abb. 16/12; Taf. 1, 2, 3/2-3, 4.

[33] Berciu, Morintz, Ionescu, Roman 1961, 51; Harţuche 1980, 40; Roman 2000-2001; Morintz 2001, 110 f.

[34] Haşotti, Popovici 1992; Haşotti 1997, 126 ff. und Abb. 120-121; Morintz 2001, 111 und Abb. 20-21.

[35] Morintz, Roman 1968, 123; 1969, 65 f.

[36] Dinu 1998, 37.

[37] Burtănescu 2002, 356.

[38] Roman 1986a, 15; Roman et al. 1992, Abb. 5.

[39] Roman et al. 1992, 66.

[40] Roman 1976, 41.

[41] Sieh z.B. Schuster 1997; 1999; 2005b.

[42] Berciu, Morintz und Roman 1973, 390 und Taf. 13/11.

[43] Unter anderen Roman 1976; 1985; 1986b; Schuster 1997; 1999; 2005b.

[44] Parzinger 1993, 95 f. und Taf. 71/35.

[45] Sieh Schuster 1997, 63 und Abb. 76/6, 91/5.

[46] Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, Taf. 14/14-15.

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Im Jahre 1968 waren S. Morintz und P. Roman der Meinung[47], dass das Entstehungsgebiet der Cernavodă II-Kultur schwer genau zu umschreiben sei. Trotzdessen schrieben P. Roman et al.[48] „*Funde der Cernavodă II-Kultur stammen aus Siedlungen, Flach- oder Hügelgräbern und liegen aus dem Osten der Walachei, aus der Dobrudscha, aus dem Nordosten Bulgariens bis Varna und sogar bis Ezero vor*".

Die Westgrenze des Ausdehnungsraumes lag nach S. Morintz und P. Roman „*auf einer Linie..., die westlich von den Städten Oltenița, Bukarest und Ploiești*" führt[49]. Gemäß der *Karte der Fundorte*, als westlichster Punkt gestaltete sich der Einzelfund von Tinosu am Ialomița-Fluß. Weitere Forschungen stellten diese Annahme nicht unter Frage. Zwischen den Unterläufen der Flüßen Mostiștea und Dâmbovița und dem linken Donau-Ufer wurden in Boian, Ulmeni, Sultana, Gumelnița, Bucureşti-*Glina* und *Căţelu Nou*, Coşereni, Mânăstirea-*I.A.S.*, Sultana-*Malu Roşu* Cernavodă II-Siedlungen entdeckt[50].

Erst unser Fund in Mironeşti-*Malul Roşu* zeigt, dass diese „*Grenze*" überschritten wurde und weist darufhin, dass Cernavodă II-Gemeinschaften nicht nur die Dâmbovița aufwärts zogen, sondern auch die Argeş-Ufern bewohnten (Taf. VII).

Über die Cernavodă II-Gräber und Nekropolen schrieben eingehender in älteren Beiträgen S. Morintz und P. Roman[51] und D. Berciu, S. Morintz und P. Roman[52]. Zu den Bestattungen der Kultur wurden die Gräber von Cernavodă (*Nr. I* hat als Grabinventar ein Askosgefäß; *Nr. II* zwei Gefäße, darunter eine Schüssel, und ein Silexmesser), Oltenița-*Calomfirescu* (zum Grabinventar gehörten vier Gefäße, darunter auch ein *Askos* und eine Tasse, die den Grabbeigaben von Cernavodă gleich sind), Oltenița-*Valea Mare* (die Gräber beherbergten auch *Askoi*. Danken Herrn Done Şerbănescu für die Information), Smeeni und, nicht auszuschliessen, Gumelnița gerechnet.

Neulich veröffentlichte N. Harțuche[53] ausführlicher die Ergebnisse der Forschungen in Brăilița. Es wurde festgestellt, dass die Cernavodă II-Gräber sich im Rahmen der gesammten Nekropole in drei Gruppierungen absondern[54].

ZUR CERNAVODĂ II-KULTUR IN BULGARIEN

Nach Jan Lichardus[55] sind in der „*Ezero B-Entwicklung (Michalič-Kultur)...im Raum Burgas Vorstöße der Cernavodă-II-Kultur belegt*". Demnach sind in Bulgarien die Cernavodă II-Spuren von Kadikioi, Ezerovo II, Strašimirovo 1-2, Kolarov, Urdoviza-Kiten, Drama, Koprrivets, Arsenala zu verzeichnen[56]. P. Roman unterstreicht aber[57], dass „*In einigen der angeführten Fällen von Ezerovo scheint es sich um Elemente von authentischer Cernavodă II Machart (Strašimirovo, Kolarov), in anderen um eine starke Grundlage vom Cernavodă II Charakter (besonders Ezerovo II) zu handeln*". Diese Feststellung wird auch im weiteren bekräftigt: „*in der Siedlung von Strašimirovo I (sind) Materialien vorhanden, welche...durchaus typisch für die Cernavodă II-Kultur sind. Die Ezerovo II-Siedlung...enthält reiche Keramikreste, die man von Cernavodă IIb-Art oder eher von-Überlieferung betrachten kann*"[58].

Es gibt auch eine andere Kategorie von Cernavodă II-Funde, wie Durankulak, wo nur eine einzige Scherbe Ähnlichkeiten mit der Ware unserer Kultur aufweist[59].

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[47] Morintz, Roman 1968, 122.
[48] Roman et al. 1992, 53.
[49] Morintz, Roman 1968, 123 und Abb. 1/9.
[50] Morintz, Roman 1968; Şerbănescu, Trohani 1978, 18, 22 und Abb. 1/4.
[51] Morintz, Roman 1968, 118.
[52] Berciu, Morintz und Roman 1973, 393 ff.
[53] Harțuche 2002.
[54] Harțuche 2002, 132 und Abb. 59, 62-64. Sieh auch Pandrea, Vernescu, Dinu 2004, 100.
[55] Lichardus 2002, 14.
[56] Georgieva 1952, 529 ff. und Abb. 237, 247; Margos 1961, Abb. 5; Tončeva 1981, 60 und Abb. 19/16; 20/12; 21/1-6, 11-12; 22/1-2,8,10,13; 23/6-7; Roman 1992, 29; Draganov 1995, 229 ff.; Porozhanov 1998, 1f.
[57] Roman et al. 1992, 29.
[58] Roman et al. 1992, 67.
[59] Roman et al. 1992, 67.

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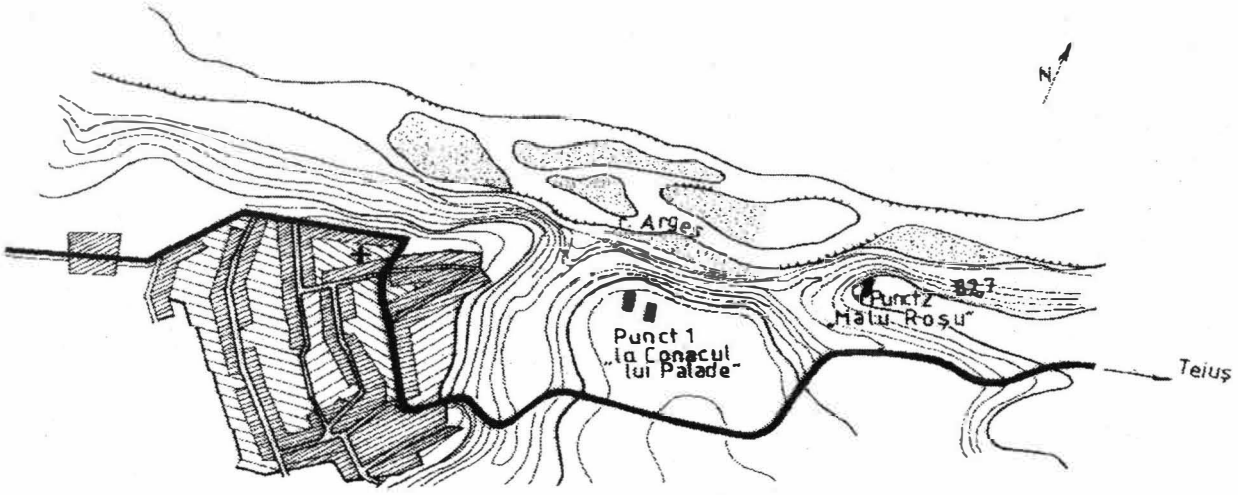

1. Das Dorf Mironeşti: Punkt 1 „*Conacul lui Palade*", Punkt 2 „*Malu Roşu*".

2. Foto mit den zwei Fundorten: „*Conacul lui Palade*" (in der Vorderfront) und „*Malul Roşu*" (im Hintergrund).

Taf. I. Mironeşti. Grabungorte.

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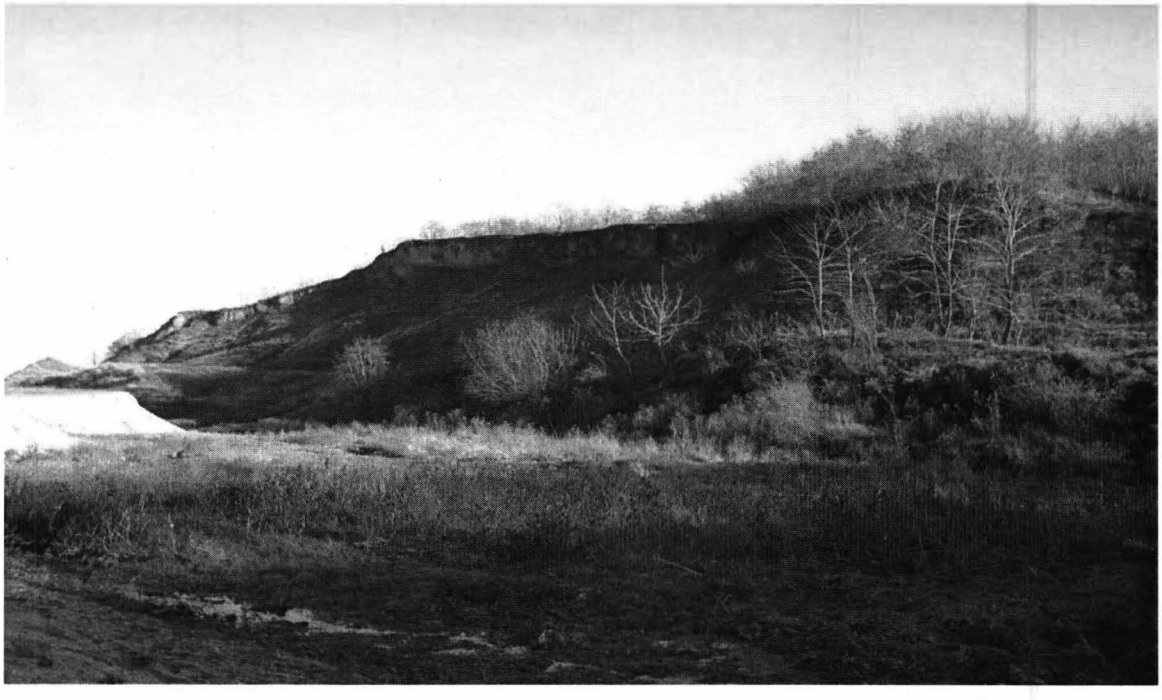
1. Nordwestansicht.



2. Ansicht aus der Argeş-Tiefebene.

Taf. II. Mironeşti – *Malul Roşu.*

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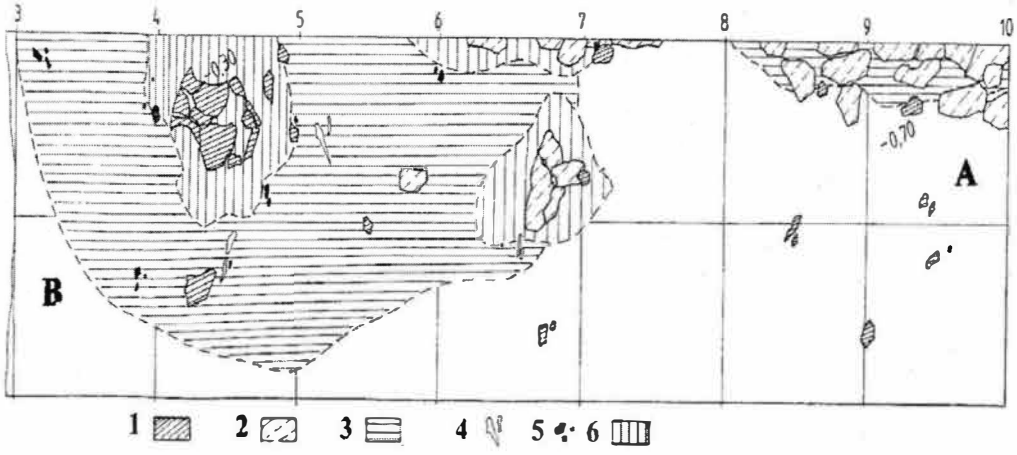
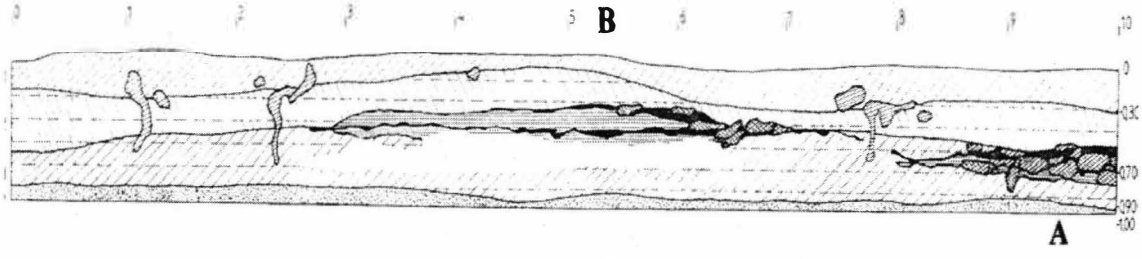


1. Plan eines Teils des *Schnittes I/2002* mit dem Cernavodă II-Haus (A) und der getischen Behausung (B). Zeichenerklärung: 1 = Keramik, 2 = Lehmboden, 3 = Asche, 4 = Knochen, 5 = Steine, 6 = Lehmbewurf.



2. Profil des Schnittes I/2002 mit den Spuren der Cernavodă II (A)- und getischen Häusern (B).

Taf. III. Mironeşti – *Malu Roşu*. Das Cernavodă II-Haus.

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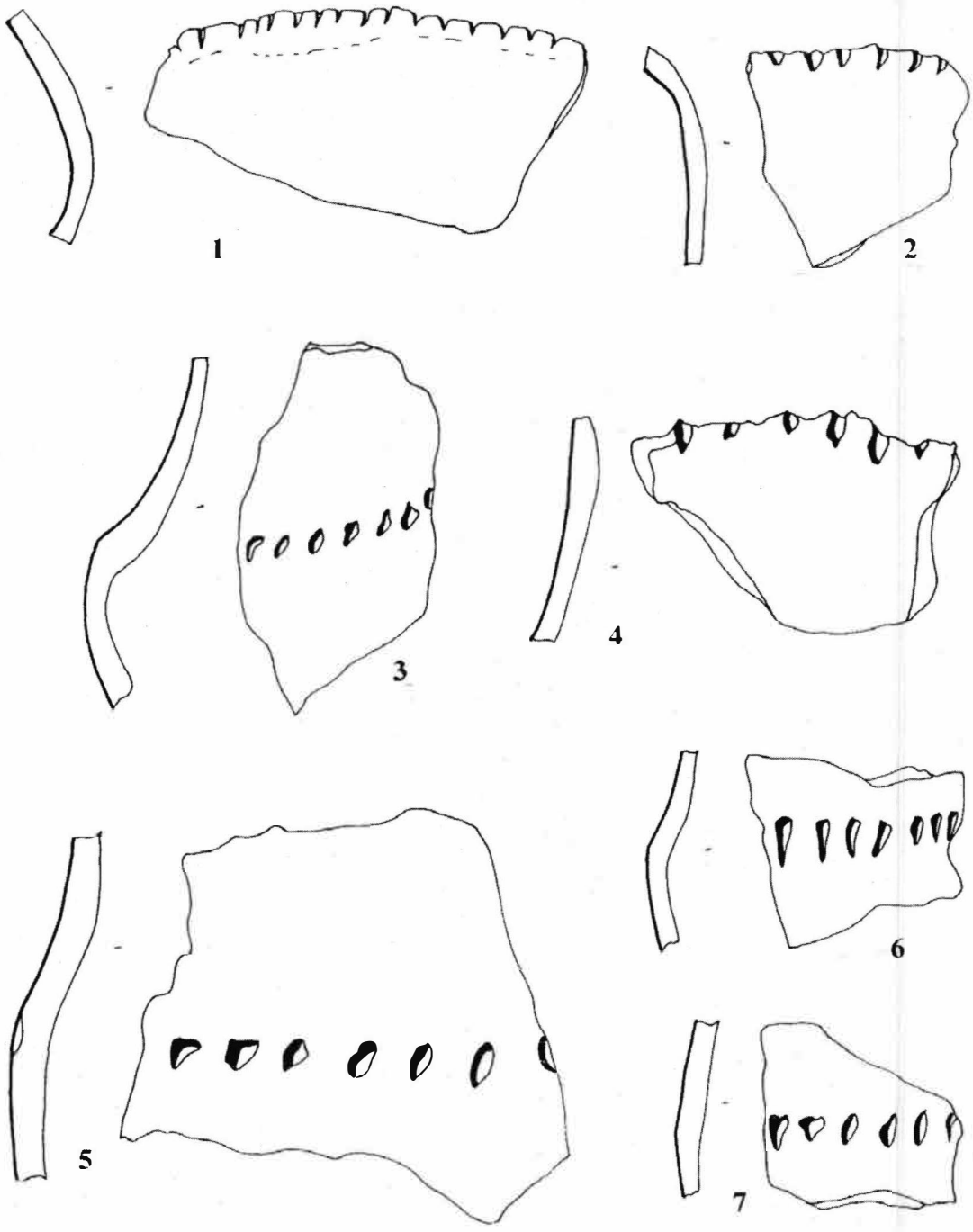

Taf. IV. Mironeşti – *Malu Roşu*. Cernavodă II-Keramik. Maßstab 1:1.

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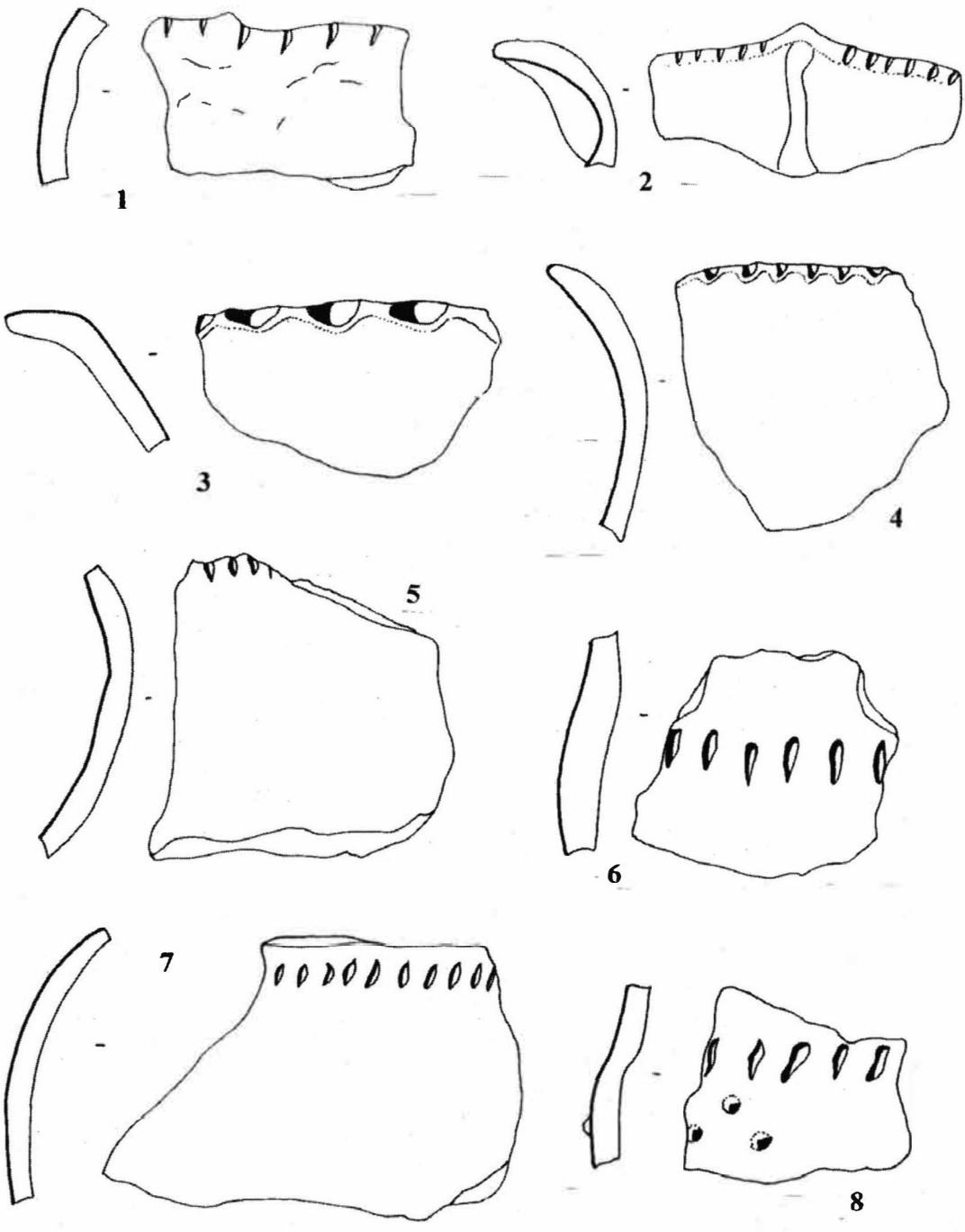

Taf. V. Mironeşti – *Malu Roşu*. Cernavodă II-Keramik. Maßstab 1:1.

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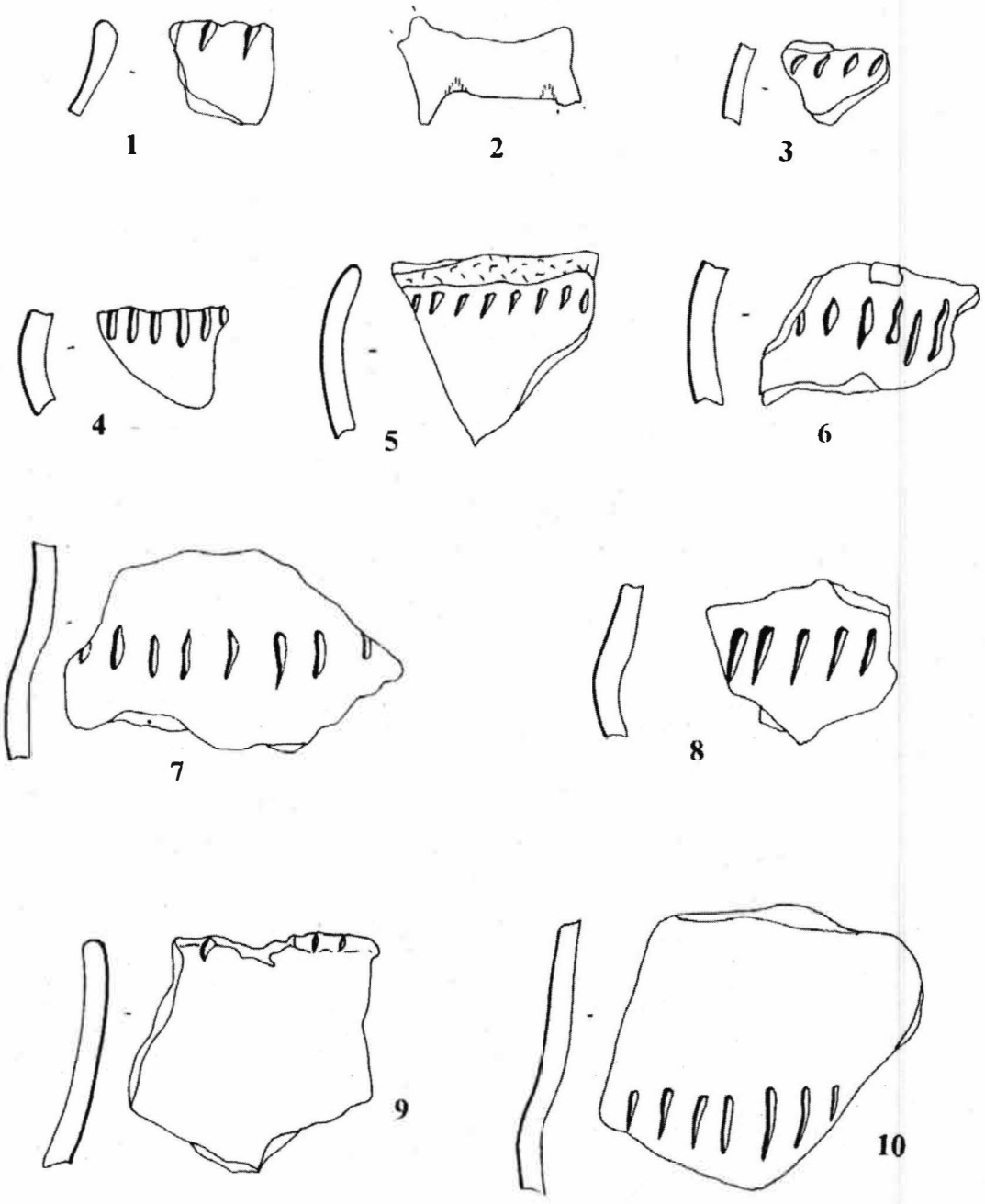

Taf. VI. Mironeşti – *Malu Roşu*. Cernavodă II-Keramik: 1, 3-10; plastische Tierdarstellung: 2. Maßstab 1:1.

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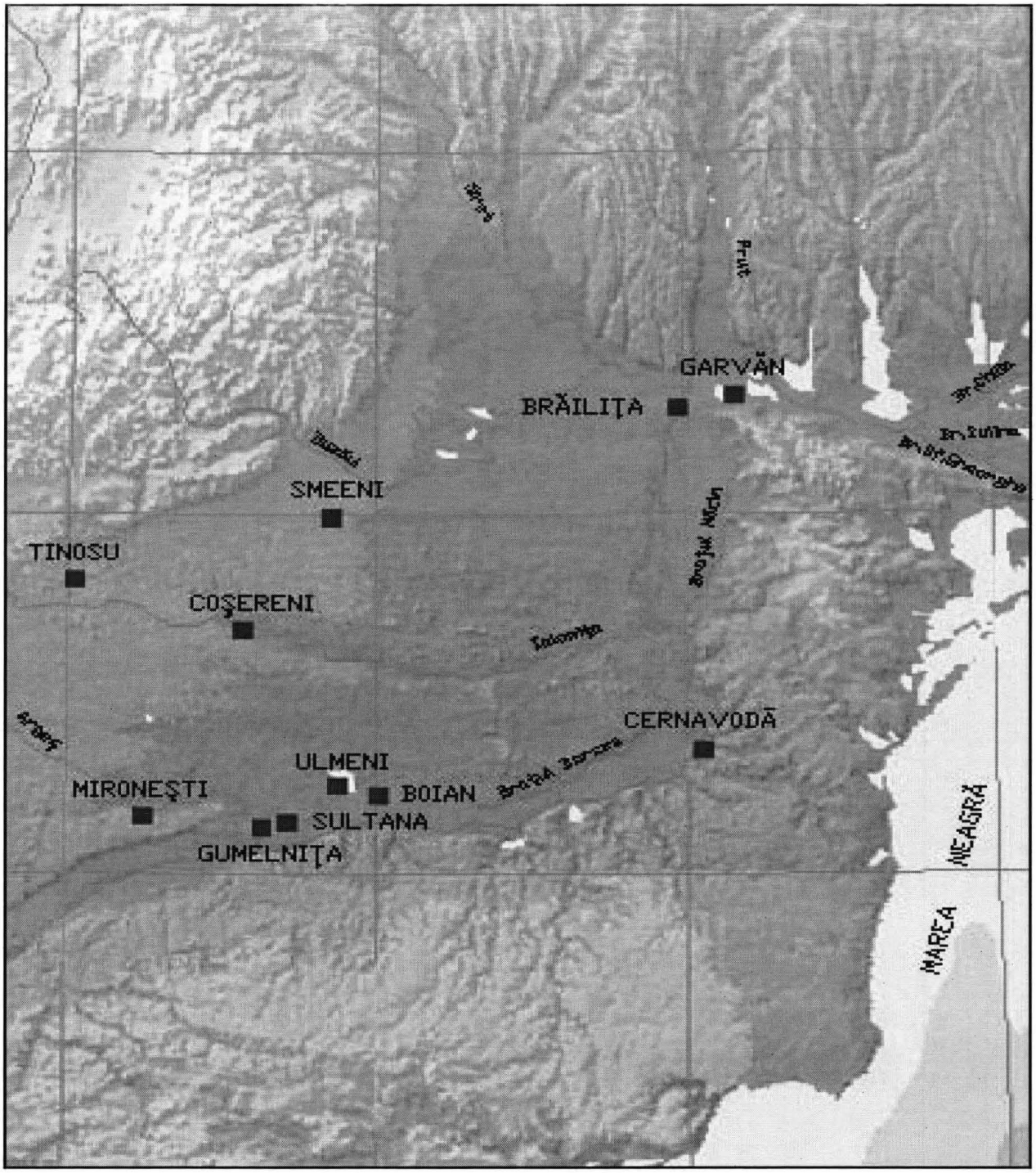

Taf. VII. Einige Cernavodă II-Fundorte auf dem Gebiet Rumäniens.

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Veselin Draganov[60] unterstreicht, dass „*The precise ceramic analogies from the Urdoviza pottery and other finds are located in the early Bronze Age coastal settlements at Lake Varna. Thus Urdoviza ware is allocated to the Cernavodă type (mainly Cernavodă II) and marks the end of the stage of their movement and transformations southward along the Black Sea coast (...) during the second phase of the early Bronze Age*". K. Leshtakov[61] meint: „*The similarities between Urdoviza and Ezerovo II (Cernavodă) ceramics, on one hand, and and the difference between Urdoviza and Mihalich and St. Kyrilovo ceramics, on the other...are not enough to prove the spreading of the Ezerovo II pottery to the southern Bulgarian Black sea coast*".

Die Funde von Urdoviza schließt Lolita Nikolova in die Gruppe Ezerovo-Sozopol ein, welche sich entlang der Schwarzmeerküste geäussert hat und zu der weiter die Unterwassersiedlungen von Ezerovo, Strašimirovo, Arsenala, Sozopol, Kiten gehören. Dieselbe Autorin unterstreicht hinsichtlich der Keramik von Ezerovo, dass diese „*good parallels in the Sozopol ceramics, as well as in Ezero culture settlements and to some extent – in the Cernavodă II-Folteşti culture and Batin Zimnicea group*" hat[62].

Anhand der ^{14}C-Daten schlägt Kalin Porozhanov einige präliminare Schlußfolgerungen bezüglich der frühbronzezeitlichen Siedlung von Urdoviza vor: „*The settlement existed for about a century and a half (from the mid-29th to the 29th century BC), its actual life-span being about 40 years; ...after the end of the 28th century BC, the settlement was entirely submerged*"[63]. Für das 29.-28. Jh. v. Chr. sprechen auch die ^{14}C- und dendrochronologischen Daten von Arsenala, Ezerovo, Kiten, Sozopol[64].

Bezüglich Drama, so wurden wir von Prof. P. Roman informiert (dem wir hier erneut zum Dank verpflichtet sind), dass er Cernavodă II-Scherben unter den Fundmateralien erkennen konnte. Anderseits, in der Monographie, die den Forschungen in der Mikroregion Drama gewidmet wurde, ist folgendes verzeichnet: „*Nur aus sekundärer Lage stammt charakteristische Keramik, die augenscheinlich mit Ezero B synchronisiert werden kann*"[65].

Zu unterschiedlicher Meinung führten die Funde von Koprivets IV. Nikolova erkannte hier im Jahre der Veröffentlichung dieser – 1996, ein Vorhandensein von Cernavodă III-Keramik[66]. Für diese Hypothese spricht sich die Autorin auch in weiteren Stellungsnehmungen aus[67]: „*the site belongs to Cernavodă III culture with some characteristics that continued from inal Copper (Cernavodă I culture) into Early Bronze IA1 and later Bronze IA2*"[68]. Demnach „*Oltenița-Renie II and Koprivets define the second stage of the Cernavodă III culture. Based on the indirect radiocarbon dates, it possibly is synchronous with the earliest Baden I in the southern Middle Danube – Vučedol – Streim Vineyard I*"[69]. Das würde heißen, dass nach Nikolova[70], zwischen der Frühbronzezeit I2 (ca. 3500-3400 BC) und Frühbronzezeit I5 „*Cernovada II – Sitagroi IV – Dikili Tash IIIA – Yunatsite 17/16-15 – Dubene IIA – Kovachevo IIIA – Radomir – Vakhovo 2 – Ostrikovac Ia – Orlea-Sadovets – Gomolava IIIA – Dobanovci – Coţofen I-Celei (c. 3200-3000 BC)*", in welcher die Cernavodă II-Funde eingeschlossen werden, noch zwei Phasen der (bulgarischen) Bronzezeit zu verzeichnen sind[71].

Einer anderen Meinung ist P. Roman hinsichtlich der Koprivets IV-Funde. Er glaubt in einigen der Keramikbruchstücke eindeutige Cernavodă II-Ware erkannt zu haben[72]: „*Die Andeutung auf Koprivec..., in der Wiedergabe von Cernavodă III im Norden Bulgariens, zeigt dass der Verfasserin die Funde der Kulturen von Cernavodă nicht bekannt sind. In Koprivec sind die Fundmaterialien, einbezogen die kannelierten Keramikbruchstücke, recht typisch für die Kultur Cernavodă II*"[73].

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[60] Draganov 1995, 233.
[61] Leshtakov 1994, 28.
[62] Nikolova 1999, 209.
[63] Porozhanov 1998, 17.
[64] Orcel, Orcel 1991; Görsdorf und Bojadžiev 1996, 157 f.; Porozhanov 1998, 18; Kuniholm, Kromer, Tarter, Griggs 1998; Nikolova 1999, *Diagramme* 9.12-14. Über die ^{14}C-Daten in ganz Südosteuropa, sieh Bojadžiev 1998.
[65] Lichardus et al. 2000, 42.
[66] Nikolova 1996.
[67] Nikolova 1999, 179 und Abb. 8.2.
[68] Nikolova 2001, 242.
[69] Nikolova 1999, 182
[70] Nikolova 1999, 250.
[71] Nikolova 1998, Taf. 3; 2001, Taf. 1.
[72] Roman 2001b, Anm. 6.
[73] Sieh auch Nikolova 1999, 179; 2001, 240.

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Ludmila Bogataja und Igor Manzura weisen darauf hin[74]: „*Es ist sehr aufschlußreich, dass aus dem Balkan-Donau-Raum bisher keine Komplexe der Grubengrabkultur mit Cernavodă I- oder III-Funden bekannt sind. Unter Berücksichtigung der übrigen Entdeckungen dürfte das kein Zufall sein. In diesem Zusammenhang läßt sich mit Gewißheit sagen, dass in der untersuchten Region die Zeit der Steppeninvasionen im allgemeinen mit dem Beginn der Ezero-Kultur, der zweiten Stufe von Folteşti-Cernavodă II zusammenfällt, aber keineswegs eher anzusetzen ist*". Dafür spricht sich auch Burtănescu[75] aus: „*Eine Zeit lang, hatten die Jamnaja Gemeinschaften im Westen und Süden die Späterbiceni-, Folteşti II...und Cernavodă II-Stämme zu Nachbaren. Diese Zeitspanne, die sich wahrscheinlich mit dem Anfang der massiven Besiedlung der nordwestpontischen Region durch die Jamnaja-Gemeinschaften deckt, muß nach Usatovo angesetzt werden*".

EINIGE SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN

Wie aus unserem bündigen Beitrag zu ersehen ist, gibt es bezüglich der Entwicklung und Evolution der Cernavodă II-Kultur noch genügend Wissenslücken. Trotzdessen ermöglichen die heutigen Informationen einige Betrachtungen, von denen wir uns auf drei beziehen:

1. Die Verbreitung der Cernavodă II-Kultur in Rumänien und Bulgarien erlaubt das Erkennen von zwei Richtungen: eine nach Westen entlang der Donau ziehende und eine weitere nach Süden, die geographisch an die Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres gebunden ist. Hinsichtlich der erstgenannten Ausschwermungsrichtung muss gesagt werden, dass die Gemeinschaften das an der Donau naheliegende Gebiet verlassen haben und ins Innenland entlang den Flüßen Argeş und Dâmboviţa eingedrungen sind (Taf. VII). Hier ist die Siedlung von Mironeşti-*Malul Roşu* bis jetzt als der westlichste Punkt des Verbreitungsgebietes der Kultur zu betrachten. Neulich wurde von Cernavodă II-Keramik auch im Falle des Fundes von Gorgota-*La Cazan* (Gem. Răzvad, Bezirk Dâmboviţa) gesprochen[76]. Da die Fundumstände und die kulturelle Zuordnung der Scherben unklar bleiben, nahmen wir uns die Freiheit diese Entdeckung nicht in unsere Analyse einzubeziehen.

Die Cernavodă II-Kultur, teilweise zeitgleich mit der abklingenden Cernavodă III-Kultur, nimmt allmählich hauptsächlich Gebiete des letztgenannten kulturellen Verbandes (Cernavodă III-Boleráz) ein. Trotzdessen tragen die verschiedenen lokalen Einflüße zur Herausbildung von Eigenheiten. Hier sei z.B. die Lage in Bulgarien zu nennen, wo auch die Ezero A-Kultur ihre Rolle spielte.

2. Wenn die rumänischen Archäologen fast alle im Falle der Cernavodă II-Kultur von einer Erscheinung der Übergangsperiode vom Spätäneolithikum sprechen, so wird diese von Wissenschaftlern die sich mit der Vorgeschichte Bulgariens auseinandersetzen in die Kategorie der frühbronzezeitlichen Äußerungen eingestuft. So redeten Jan Lichardus und Marion Lichardus-Itten neulich von einer *Periode 7* (Cernavodă II-Ezero B1) der Frühbronzezeit, welche den *Perioden 6-5*, d.h. Ezero A-Stara Zagora-„*Bereketska mogila*" und Cernavodă III-Drama-„*Merdžumekja*"-Osthang folgt[77].

3. Heute wird es immer klarer, dass die Cernavodă II-Kultur ihren Beitrag bei der Gestaltung der frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur hatte. P. Roman zeigte[78], dass diese in einigen Zonen Rumäniens und Bulgariens, hauptsächlich im Randgebiet der Donau, erst dem Horizont Zimnicea – Oltenița-*Calomfirescu* – Călăraşi-*Mircea Vodă* – Batin folgt[79]. In Nordostbulgarien schiebt sich zwischen den Kulturen Cernavodă II-Ezero B1 und Glina (die als *9. Periode* und letzte der bulgarischen Frühbronzezeit gesehen wird) die Kultur Ezero B2-Michalič (*8. Periode*)[80] ein.

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[74] Bogataja, Manzura 1994, 78 f.

[75] Burtănescu 2002, 265.

[76] Muscă 1998; Olteanu, Cârstina, Căprăroiu 2003, 48.

[77] Lichardus, Lichardus-Itten 2003, 60 f.

[78] Roman 1986, 30, 35.

[79] Sieh auch Schuster 2005b, 88 ff.

[80] Lichardus, Lichardus-Itten 2003, 60 f.

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KATALOG DER CERNAVODĂ II-FUNDE IN RUMÄNIEN

(einige davon auf *Taf. VII*)

Boian-*B*, Bezirk Călăraşi. Eugen Comşa spricht von einer 0,30 m dicken Kulturschicht[81]. Die Keramik wurde von Morintz und Roman[82] und Berciu, Morintz, Roman[83] neu bearbeitet und kulturell definiert.

Brăiliţa, Bezirk Brăila. Die Cernavodă II-Gräber sondern sich in der gesammten Nekropole durch drei „*Inseln*" ab. Die *Gräber 2*, *7-8* gehören zur ersten Gruppe, die *Gräber 22-23*, *30*, *37*, *39-40* zur zweiten und *43-44*, *46*(?)*-47*, *49*, *56-58*, *67*, *70*, *77* und *80-81* zur dritten. Das *Grab 173*(?) könnte ein Einzelfall darstellen. Die Gruben der Gräber waren oval oder oval-länglich im Falle der Hockerbestattungen (*Gräber 2*, *7-8*, *22-23*, *30*, *37*, *44*, *49*, *57-58*, *80-81*)[84] und rechteckig in dem der Skelette in Rückenlage (*Gräber 39-40*, *43*, *47*, *56*, *67*, *70*, *77*). Die Bestatteten der *Gräber 22* und *44* waren Kinder, die weiteren Erwachsene. Zu dem Grabinventar zählen Keramik – eine Tasse im *Grab 8*, eine Schüssel im *Grab 22*, stumpfkegelförmige Gefässe in den *Gräbern 23*, *30*, *37*, *44*, *57*, *67*, Kannen in den *Gräbern 40* und *46* (?)– kupferne Blechröllchen (*Grab 8*), Marmor- und Knochengürtelschnallen (*Gräber 37*, *70*, *173*), Muschelschalen (*Cardium* im *Grab 47*; *Spondylus* in den Gräbern *46*? und *173*?), Silexklinge im *Grab 56*, Steinperle im *Grab 173* (?), roter Ocker (*Gräber 7*, *44*, *47*).

Bucureşti

1. *Glina*, mögliche Wohnschicht auf dem äneolithischen Tell[85].
2. *Cătelu Nou*. Am rechten Ufer des ehemaligen Colentina-Pantelimon Sees, auf einem Hügelsporn, konnten die Überreste eines Erdhauses der Cernavodă II-Kultur erforscht werden[86], wenn dieser Fund nicht, im Lichte neuster Forschungen, als eine frühbronzezeitliche nach-Cernavodă II-Erscheinung, betrachtet werden muß.

Cernavodă, Bezirk Constanţa[87].

Coşereni, Bezirk Ialomiţa. Cernavodă II-Keramik des archaischen Typs kam zum Vorschein[88].

Frăsinet, Bezirk Călăraşi. Etwa 3 km nördlich vom Dorf, auf dem rechten Ufer des Sees Frăsinet, wurde wahrscheinliche Cernavodă II-Keramik entdeckt[89].

Garvăn-Dinogeţia, Bezirk Tulcea. Es wurde Keramik des Cernavodă II-Typs identifiziert[90].

Gumelniţa, Bezirk Călăraşi. Nach Dinu V. Rosetti wurde die Schicht einer Cernavodă II-Siedlung und wahrscheinlich auch ein Grab entdeckt[91]. Eine Analyse des archäologischen Materials, der Keramik machten Morintz und Roman[92].

Mânăstirea-*I.A.S.*, Bezirk Călăraşi. Auf einer Anhöhe in der Mostiştea-Tiefebene wurde neben frühmittelalterlichen Dridu-, weitere Sântana de Mureş aus dem IV. Jh. n. Chr., getische und Cernavodă II- Keramik gefunden[93].

Mironeşti-*Malul Roşu*, Bezirk Giurgiu; s. oben.

Oltenita

1. *Calomfirescu*, Bezirk Călăraşi, Grab mit vier Gefäßen, darunter auch ein *Askos* und eine Tasse, die den Grabinventaren von Cernavodă gleich sind[94];
2. *Valea Mare*, Nekropole. Die Gräber beherbergten u.a. auch *Askoi*. Das Material befindet sich im Museum Oltenita und ist unter Bearbeitung. Danken Herrn Done Şerbănescu für die Informationen.

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[81] Comşa 1960, 61, 68.

[82] Morintz, Roman 1968, Abb. 47, 52/2, 5-7, 19, 53/7, 54/4.

[83] Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 395 und Taf. 13/12, 14/14-15.

[84] Harţuche 2002, 46 ff. und Abb. 68/2, 69; 72-74, 79/17, 84/1, 3, 89/4, 6, 90/2, 4, 91/4, 92/3, 93/7, 95/1, 3, 97/6; Sieh auch Schuster 2003, 50, 53 ff.

[85] Morintz, Roman 1968, 106.

[86] Leahu 1965, 14-24.

[87] Morintz, Roman 1968, 106 und Abb. 49/7-12, 53/11-16, 18, 54/1-3, 5-8; Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973.

[88] Nestor, Zaharia 1968, 41 und Abb. 6/1-3, 6-9; Morintz, Roman 1968, 110; Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 395.

[89] Şerbănescu, Trohani 1978, 28.

[90] Comşa 1953, 751 f.; Morintz, Roman 1968, 110 und Abb. 53/19-27; Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 395.

[91] Rosetti 1959, 812. Sieh auch Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 393.

[92] Morintz, Roman 1968, Abb. 48, 51/4-5, 52/1, 9, 17, 53/1-6.

[93] Şerbănescu, Trohani 1978, 18.

[94] Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 396.

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Renie II, Bezirk Călăraşi. In der Oberschicht wurde Cernavodă II ähnliche Keramik geortet[95];

Smeeni, Bezirk Prahova. *Gräber Nr. 13* – Grabinventar auch ein *Askos*-, und *12* – mit Keramik, die der Cernavodă II-Kultur angehört[96].

Sultana-*Malu Roşu*, Gemeinde Mânăstirea, Bezirk Călăraşi. Auf dem äneolithischem Tell und neben ihm wurde Cernavodă II-Keramik gefunden[97];

Tinosu, Bezirk Ialomiţa. Es wurde Cernavodă II-Material gefunden[98].

Ulmeni-*Tăuşanca*, Bezirk Călăraşi. Keramik ist entdeckt worden[99].

Unirea-*Rău*, Gemeinde Unirea, Bezirk Călăraşi. Auf einer Anhöhe am linken Rău-Arm der Donau wurde auch Cernavodă II-Keramik gefunden[100].

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[97] Morintz, Roman 1968, 106 und Abb. 46, 51/1-2, 6, 52/3-4, 8, 10-12, 15-16, 18, 20, 53/8-10; Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 393 und Abb. 3 = Taf. 4/1; Şerbănescu, Trohani 1978, 12; Lazăr 2003, 36.

[98] Morintz, Roman 1968, 110 und Abb. 49/5-6, 52/13-14; Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 395.

[99] Morintz, Roman 1968, 112 und Abb. 50, 51/3; Berciu, Morintz, Roman 1973, 395.

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FAUNA REMAINS AT HUNEDOARA – "GRĂDINA CASTELULUI" (HUNEDOARA COUNTY)

GEORGETA EL SUSI

Key words: Basarabi culture, dumping pits, animal husbandry, hunting.
Summary. The article presents the results of a faunal sample analysis belonging to Basarabi culture from Hunedoara. The material comes from the trench SIV/2001-2002, being collected from three dumping pits and one containing a buried human skeleton. A survey on morphological and dimensional characteristics of used animals, insisting on kill-off patterns is presented. There are some final comparative analysis with faunal data from other Hallstattian sites as Bernadea and Mediaş.

Cuvinte cheie: cultura Basarabi, gropi menajere, creşterea animalelor, vânătoare.
Rezumat. Articolul prezintă rezultatele analizei unui lot osteologic aparţinând culturii Basarabi, de la Hunedoara. Materialul provine din SIV/2001-2002, fiind colectat din trei gropi menajere şi una conţinând un schelet uman inhumat. Apoi se face o trecere în revistă a caracteristicilor morfologice şi dimensionale ale animalelor exploatate, insistându-se pe datele de sacrificare. În final sunt prezentate comparativ datele despre faună provenite şi din alte situri Hallstattiene, Bernadea şi Mediaş.

Hunedoara County is located in south-west part of Transylvania laying over a sector of the Mureş and Jiu hydrographic basins. An important city is Hunedoara sited in the Strei-Cerna hilly depression, bounded by Poiana Ruscă-Şurianu Mountains and Mureş Valley. A much known historical monument, the Corvin Castle is settled in the southern part of the town, on a rocky promontory nearby Cerna and Zlaşti rivers' confluence. The point "Grădina Castelului" (Castle Garden) refers to the high terrace of Cerna that surrounds the Sânpetru Hill in its south-eastern part. The archaeological excavations in this location yielded finds belonging to Starčevo-Criş, Petreşti, Wietenberg, Basarabi, Dacian and Medieval epochs[1]. The research area includes two important moments, one starting in 1980 and the second one in 1996 up till present day. The most important archaeological complexes brought to light confirm the habitation of the area during Hallstattian epoch, since that time several store pits, preserved. In the present stage of site investigation, one appreciates that the settlement, with two habitation phases within the same horizon belongs to an early phase of the Basarabi culture[2]. An important finding from 1998, a hole deemed as a deposit place of a metalwork oven, with ceramic remains found in the padding of it confirm the function of the site during the early phase of the Basarabi culture[3]. Interesting, an earth wave from Basarabi epoch was found too; at present it reaches 2.30 m hight, a Hallstattian cup was deposed at the bottom (foundation offering)[4]. From medieval times a complex (a stone oven) dated in the 9-10th centuries AD was unearthed and published as well[5].

The entire faunal assemblage presented in this article was collected from the surface (S.) IV investidated along 2001-2002 season diggings. It occupies the NW corner of the garden, to -1.1 m[6]. The faunal sample counts about 1,295 fragments of which 1,011 were precisely determined to species. Quite a few faunal remains were collected from archaeological complexes (noted as pits: no 1, 3, 5, 6), consisting of about 769 bones. Another 526 fragments were found within the cultural layer. There is little information on

[1] Roman, Diaconescu 2002, 55.
[2] Luca 1999, 65.
[3] Roman, Diaconescu 2002, 59.
[4] Luca et alii 2001, 154.
[5] *Ibidem.*
[5] Luca *et alii* 2002, 144.

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the animals in the Basarabi settlements. That where why we considered a good opportunity to publish the material, not so large, but utterly interesting (Table 1).

Table 1

Species frequencies at Hunedoara "Grădina Castelului"

Species	Frgm.	%	MNI	%
Bos taurus	583	57.7	44	35.5
Sus scrofa domesticus	210	20.8	34	27.4
Ovis/Capra	131	12.9	24	19.4
Equus caballus	10	1	3	2.4
Canis familiaris	14	1.4	4	3.2
DOMESTICS	**948**	**93.8**	**109**	**87.9**
Cervus elaphus	44	4.4	9	7.3
Sus scrofa ferrus	11	1.1	3	2.4
Capreolus c.	6	0.5	1	0.8
Bos primigenius	1	0.1	1	0.8
Lepus europaeus	I	0.1	1	0.8
WILDS	**63**	**6.2**	**15**	**12.1**
TOTAL	1,011			
Bos/Cervus	88			
Splinters of Ovis/Sus	78			
Splinters of Bos/Cervus/Equus	118			
TOTAL SAMPLE	1,295			

As previously mentioned, several pits yielded 769 bones: some of them would have had a waste function (Pits 3, 5, 6); the one had a ritual character (Pit 1/2001 the same as the pit 1/2002). Its ritual function was recognized during the excavations, the faunal analysis confirming the archaeological observations.

Table 2

Bones distribution within pits

	Pit 1/2002	Pit 1/2001	Pit 3	Pit 5	Pit 6
Bos taurus	5	14	49	22	413
Sus s. dom.	3	6	12	14	81
Ovis/Capra	2	10	22	17	13
Equus caballus	**2**	2			
Canis familiaris	2	1	7	2	
Cervus elaphus				8	
Sus s. ferrus					
Capreolus c.		6			
Bos primigenius					
Lepus europaeus					
Bos/Cervus				18	
Splinters of Ovis/Sus					
Splinters of Bos/Cervus/Equus	3	8	22		5
TOTAL	17	47	112	81	512

In this respect we envisaged the bones amount from each pit, their distribution according skeletal parts, some association between bones, the fragmentation degree and the position of bones inside pits.

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Pit no. 3 contained 112 bones from 21 individuals, such as cattle, pig, dog, sheep and goat; the material is randomly allotted according to skeletal parts; the complex served to discard the garbage. **Pit no. 5** contained 81 fragments deriving from 16 animals: the complex could have also functioned as a dump place. **Pit no. 6** furnished the greatest amount of the sample; the 512 fragments belong to minimum 22 individuals. Half of the refused bones are ribs, vertebrae, especially from cattle. **Pit no. 1** was dug in 2001 when about 47 animal bones were collected from its filling; the complex depletion was accomplished in 2002. On that occasion a buried human skeleton was found, beside other 17 faunal remains. The inhumation grave was found in the SW sector, within the surface IV/2001-2002. Its walls were burnt before the deposal of the corps[7]. A pair of distal femora of a horse was found on the same level with the human skeleton. The animal was a little older than 3-3.5 years judging after the fusing but the line is still visible. In the filling of the complex a canine of a stallion and a shoulder blade from the same taxon were found. It is impossible to say whether or not these last remains are in relation with the pair of femora (Fig. 5). The other bones from the accumulation of Pit no. 1 derive from six taxa and minimum 7 individuals: two cattle (a juvenile and a young mature), an immature pig, two immature sheep, an adult dog and a very young roe deer exemplary, captured in summer. Besides many big sized-mammal splinters (11 fragm.) were contained in the filling. Perhaps, initially, the complex would have had a special role.

The main domestic mammals, cattle, sheep/goat, pig, horse and dog account for most (93.8%) of the identifiable bones in the Hallstattian assemblage. **Cattle** with 583 bones (57.7%) of 44 animals (35.5%) rank the first among culinary and utilitarian needs of the community. The discrepancy between the quota as fragments and individuals is due chiefly to small amount of mandibules fragments. A large horn core of "primigenius" type deriving from a bulky domestic bull was found. Also a femur of 368 mm in length derives from a male, a withers height of 118.8 cm being appreciated. From the pit no. 5 was collected a metacarpus with a length of 164.5 mm suggesting a small cattle size of 99.2 cm. Dwarf cattle were found in other early Hallstattian sites, such as that from Mediaş – „Cetate" (Transilvania). A smaller tall of 92.3 cm[8] was estimated at that site. At Mediaş[9] overall withers height is 102.97 cm. Cattle of similar size were also found at Bernadea[10] too, values of 97.3 and 107.2 cm being estimated. The same type of cattle of small size was found in an early Hallstattian dwelling from Remetea Mare – „Gomila lui Gabor" (Banat Plain) (103 cm)[11]. Coming back to the same question, two cattle metatarsals of 227.5 and 231 mm in length were found in the pit no. 6 at Hunedoara (Fig. 4). Most likely the bones originated in oxen in accordance with the values of slenderness indices. Withers' heights of 124.4 and 126.3 cm are estimated. In broad lines, an average of 117.1 cm was estimated of the site; similarly values characterize the cattle from Kalakača and Vašice (Serbia) (117 cm and 114-115 cm[12]). A conclusion can be drowning, namely that the cattle population from this site included cows with around one meter small stature, taller males, around 1.18 m and gelds. The strong sexual dimorphism, a characteristic of primitive breeds, is quite visible. Beyond all doubt the keepers practiced the gelding of the bulls.

Age-related (Table 3), the youngs and sub-adults total up to 54.5% of the presumed individuals; the adults and matures sum up 45.5% by the two categories. Six animals were slaughtered after 7-9 years old. Pursuant to statistics, the cattle were used chiefly for beef, milk and only draught power as the second employment. Their killing for meet took place either before growing up, or later in proportion as their output diminished.

The **suids** rank the second among culinary preferences of the inhabitants, the 210 fragments totaling 20.8% of the sample. As the quota MNI (minim number individuals) significantly increases up to 27.4% the few measurements offer irrelevant data about their size. Out of 34 presumed individuals, beyond 70% were killed before reaching their maturity while 29.4% of animals were kept 3-4 years, for reproduction. The percentage is suggestive indicating a balanced exploitation of the species.

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[7] Luca *et alii* 2003, 143.

[8] Bindea, Haimovici 2004, 119.

[9] *Ibidem.*

[10] El Susi 2001, 239.

[11] El Susi 1997, 50.

[12] Bökönyi 1981, 108.

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Table 3

Kill-off patterns of main species

	infans-juveniles	sub-adults	adults	matures	total
Cattle	13	11	9	11	44
%	29.5	25	20.5	25	100
Pig	10	14	9	1	34
%	29.4	41.2	26.5	2.9	100
Sheep/goat	10	4	5	5	24
%	42	16.4	20.8	20.8	100

131 fragments (12.9 %) belong to **caprovines** originating from 24 animals (19.4%). Three goats and six sheep were identified among the presumed individuals. The goat sample belongs to a sub-adult and two adults; a complete metatarsus of 123 mm gave a tall of 65.6 cm, a medium size for that epoch. The sheep samples belong to three sub-adults, an adult and two matures. One of the animals was slaughtered when it was around 6-8 years. A tall of 60.4 cm was estimated. Generally, the metric evaluations characterize small-medium sized individuals, common during Hallstattian epoch in the Carpathian Basin. At Bernadea the stature of the sheep is about 57-60 cm[13]. The values recorded at the two sites from Transylvania (Hunedoara and Bernadea) correspond to those from Kalakača (56, 59, 60, 61 cm)[14]. 58.4% of 24 individuals were killed as juveniles and sub-adults and 41.6% reached their complete maturity. Judging from the statistics the small ruminant exploitation envisaged the mutton and by-products.

The **horse** sample is fairly small; there were only 10 bones (1%) related to the 3 exemplars (2.4%). The fragments exemplify all the body regions, the fleshy parts as well, but the teeth prevail. Undoubtedly the horse beef was used for consumption. Complete bones were not preserved; few measurements suggest medium-sized animals. After statistics, one exemplar was killed around 2-2.5 years, the second one barely reached 3.5-4 years and the third one, a male, was killed during 6-11 years.

The **dog** is quoted with 1.4%-14 remains from 4 animals (3.2%). A pair of mandibles with a length of 72 mm (Pm+M) corresponds to a large animal, as the length of Dahr (164.8) confirms. The teeth are much worn out suggesting an old individual. In addition, a radius of 187 mm belongs to another taller dog, 60.2 cm. Dogs of medium and large size were common at that time[15]. They had been used for guarding the livestock, the camp, for hunting, etc.

Among hunted mammals the **red deer** dominates the statistics with just 4.4% as fragments (44 bones) and 7.3% as individuals. All the body parts are represented, but the skull elements and the distal parts of the legs are numerous. The entire carcasses were most likely carried back to settlement for processing. Only one shed antler with cut-marks was found; the antlers were likely used as raw material. Of nine presumed individuals, one animal was hunted around 6-12 months, another one at 1-2 years, two animals at 2.5-3 years, and the other ones as matures. The measurements show medium sized animals. One large male approached the size range of cattle, e.g. GLP of scapula is 67 mm.

Eleven specimens of **wild swine** (1.1%) were identified, belonging to an immature and two mature animals. Estimations towards the of withers' heights from mc. IV and talus yielded the following values: 86.8 cm and 102 cm. According these ones, the two bones belong to a sow and a boar.

The **roe deer** material is less significant; the six bones (0.5%) come from an individual (0.8%), hunted soon after 2-3 months (during warm time). A single fragment of **hare'** pelvis was found. A third phalanx with GL of 93.5 mm should belong[16] to an **aurochs**.

DISCUSSION

The faunistic material from Hunedoara it shows that the domestic animals were the backbone of the economy, as there is high ratio of them: 93.8/6.2% (fragments) and 87.9/12.1% (individuals). Our site is

[13] El Susi 2001, 240.
[14] Bökönyi 1981, 108.
[15] See the bibliographical list.
[16] Very possible the fragments belong to a domestic male.

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noteworthy for the very high level of cattle in the assemblage: 57.7% (as fragments), followed by pig with 20.8% and small ruminants with 12.9%. From the aging information it can be observed an increased percent of immature cattle (over 50%), suggesting the rearing primarily for beef. Animals kept also for work, dairying and breeding purposes total up 45%, witch appears as a significant value. There is no evidence for the presence of larger cattle in the Hallstattian period, all excmplars belonging to a small sized-type. The pig was an important component of the community sustainability, as the surroundings favored their breeding; it ranks the second in the diet preferences, with 20.8%. A kill-off peak occurs in the first year of life of the individuals (29.4%) while (41.2%) in the second year. That means a rate of immature around 70.6%, a normal value having in view the meat production as primarily aim of pig rearing. The small ruminants are expected to be lesser exploited in forested upland habitat, reaching 12.9% from the total sample. They were primarily valued for mutton, 42% of animals being killed in their first year. In the second year the percent decreases to 16.4%; 20.8% is the rate of animals slaughtered between 3-4 years and 20.8% over that age. That means that an important part of the flock was kept for wool and milk production. The horse had a small contribution in the diet (its broken bones came amongst butchery waste in small number (1%); it was used for transportation, loads carrying chiefly and in ritual practices.

Although the environment favored a dense and diversified wild fauna, the animal spectrum reflects a fewness of taxons. Must not be omitted the sample at issue which is not too large, so that the results could partly reflect the general layout. According to the statistics, up to 6% (as fragments) and 12% (as MNI) represents the quota of the game at the site. It seems that the venison was not an important source of food to the inhabitants. Likely, the hunting was incidental practiced, barely to reduce the competitors for domestic stocks or to complete the food resources during the cold season. As mentioned above, amongst wild species the red deer is more frequent (4.4%) than boar (1.1%), a fact to be put in the connection with the environment and particularly with the local woodland. The roe deer, a species typical to a semi-forested habitat had a small contribution in diet (0.5%). The aurochs and hare had small density throughout the region, reflecting a local environment not very rich in opened habitat which was preferred by the species. In this context the prevalence of red deer and boar among the hunted species is explained.

The new data about the climate evolution during Holocene indicate a cooling of the weather, known as "Little Ice Age" (humid, short and cold summers) for the mid Hallstat[17] period. Certainty, a wet climate favored the woodland extension and implicit the growing of deer and boar herds (forest-dwelling species); also there were good conditions for the pig feeding. At the same time, light forested or opened landscape species (roe deer, aurochs, hare) would decreased in frequency.

Table 4

Species frequencies, in Basarabi sites from Transylvania

	Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului	Bernadea	Mediaş-Gura Câmpului	Mediaş-Cetate
Bos taurus	57.7	34.7	42.8	26.4
Sus s. dom.	20.8	25.3	14.4	25.16
Ovis/Capra	12.9	19.7	18.1	30.19
Equus caballus	1	5	1	9.43
Canis familiaris	1.4	1.4	2.8	5.03
DOMESTICS	93.8	86	79.1	96.23
WILDS	6.2	14	20.9	3.77
Total sample	1,295	346	215	159

It must be specified from the very beginning that Hallstattian settlements (most of them partaining to Basarabi culture) with faunal analyses are few: Hunedoara, Bernadea[18], Mediaş-Gura Câmpului[19], Mediaş-Cetate[20]; the gathered samples are not numerous (less than 500 remainders, except Hunedoara), and therefor

[17] Tomescu 2000, 268.
[18] El Susi 2002, 109-115.
[19] Blăjan, Stoicovici, Georoceanu 1979, 35-42.
[20] Bindea, Haimovici 2004, 117-125.

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the evidence is slander and sometimes insufficiently for our purpose. A parallel between the faunal spectra (Table 4) indicates two aspects to be taken in to account: the contribution of main domestic species in the site economy (Fig. 1) and the wild/domestic mammals' ratio (Fig. 2). Related to first question, it seems that the Hallstattian communities were bovines' breeders, the cattle predominance of being observed in almost all cases. They count for 40-57% at Mediaş-Gura Câmpului, Hunedoara and fewer at Bernadea (34.7%). An exception is Mediaş-Cetate, with a value of 26.4% ranking the second among domestics. The disagreeing values at Mediaş rely rather on the smallness of both samples. By and large, cattle were bred mostly for meat, though other products such as milk drought power will have been exploited along the life. The age-class distribution in each site (Fig. 3) suggests as foloows: at Hunedoara – a specific farming regime primarily focused on meat production (an augmented percent of immatures 54%) interrelated with a good representation of taxon (as fragments); at Bernadea – a little reduced cattle percent, correlated with an increasing of adult-mature segment to 80%. That means that the using of the bovines was chiefly for by-products. At length, a lower frequency of cattle (exceeded by sheep, pig) closely connected with a large proportion of matures (80%) was found at Mediaş-Cetate; that allow us to consider cattle as main source for secondary products such as milk, or for traction.

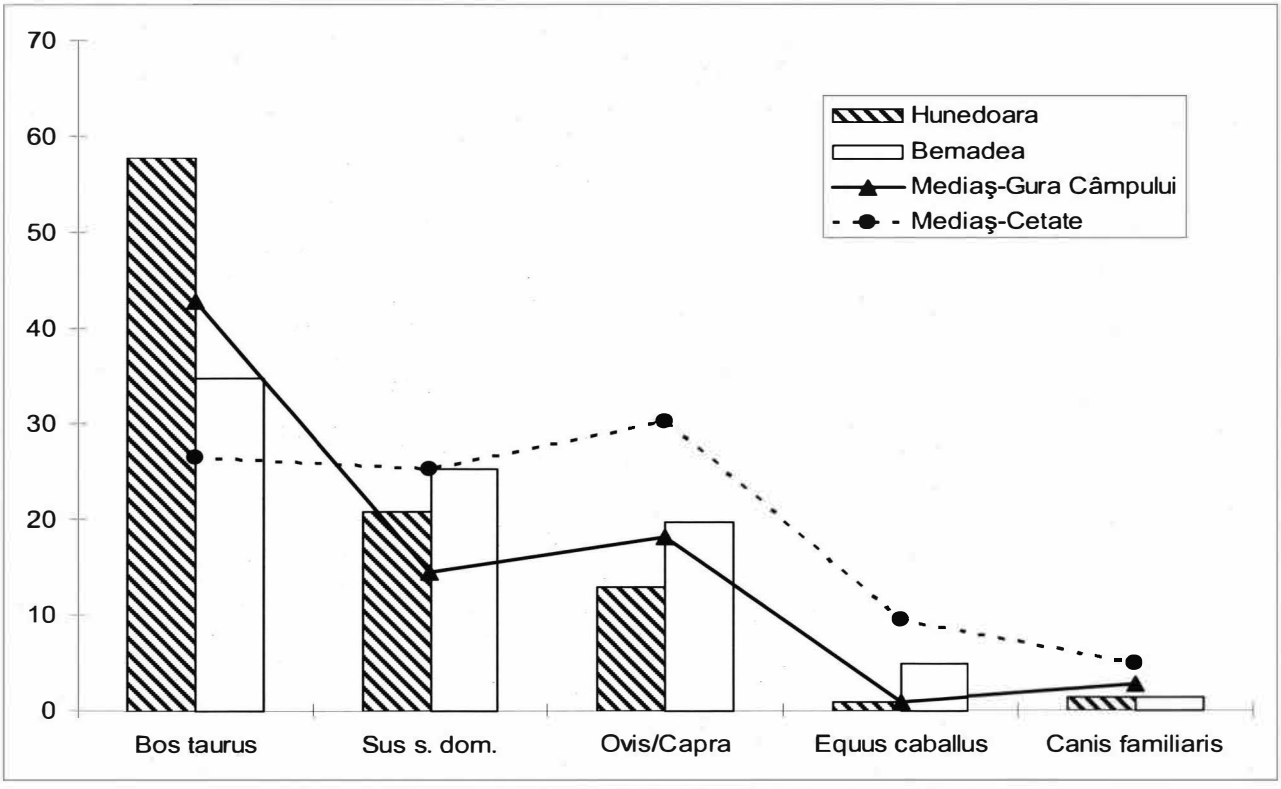

Fig. 1. Species frequencies in Hallstattian sites from Transylvania.

With one exception (Mediaş-Gura Câmpului), pig was on a large-scale exploited in the mentioned sites, their bones counting for one third of samples. Presumably high percentages of the pig in sites suggest forested surroundings propitious for its rearing. According to archaeological bibliography, the settlements in question developed on terraces or promontories on the bank of the rivers[21], in a hilly and forested (perhaps) landscape, befit to pig breeding in loose holding.

By and large, the small ruminants were exploited in a less degree at Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului (12.9%); at Bernadea and Mediaş-Gura Câmpului register around 18-19% and a highest value at Mediaş-Cetate (30%), as a compensation for a lower share of cattle. Interesting in all the sites, the immature/mature ratio is roughly fifty/fifty, implying a mixed exploitation using of taxa: mutton and wool, milk, hides. Butchered horse bones are relatively commonly on Hallstattian sites and is usually consistent with the exploitation for meat.

[21] Ursuțiu 2002, 24.

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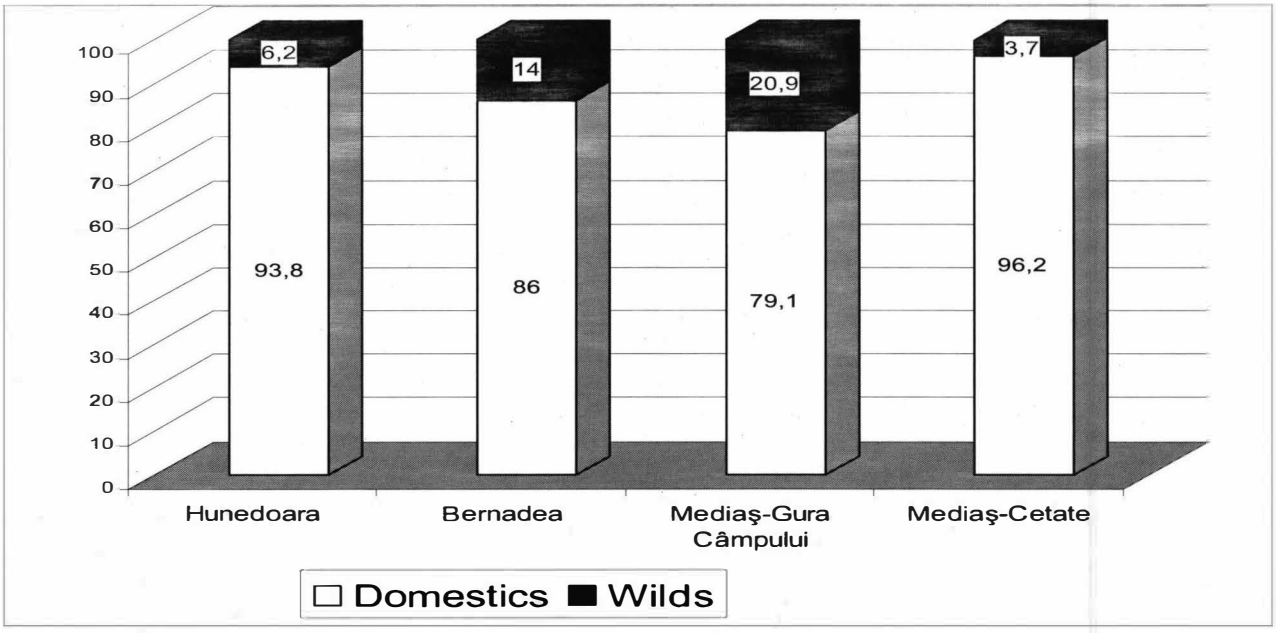

Fig. 2. Domestic/wild ratio in the Hallstattian sites from Transilvania.

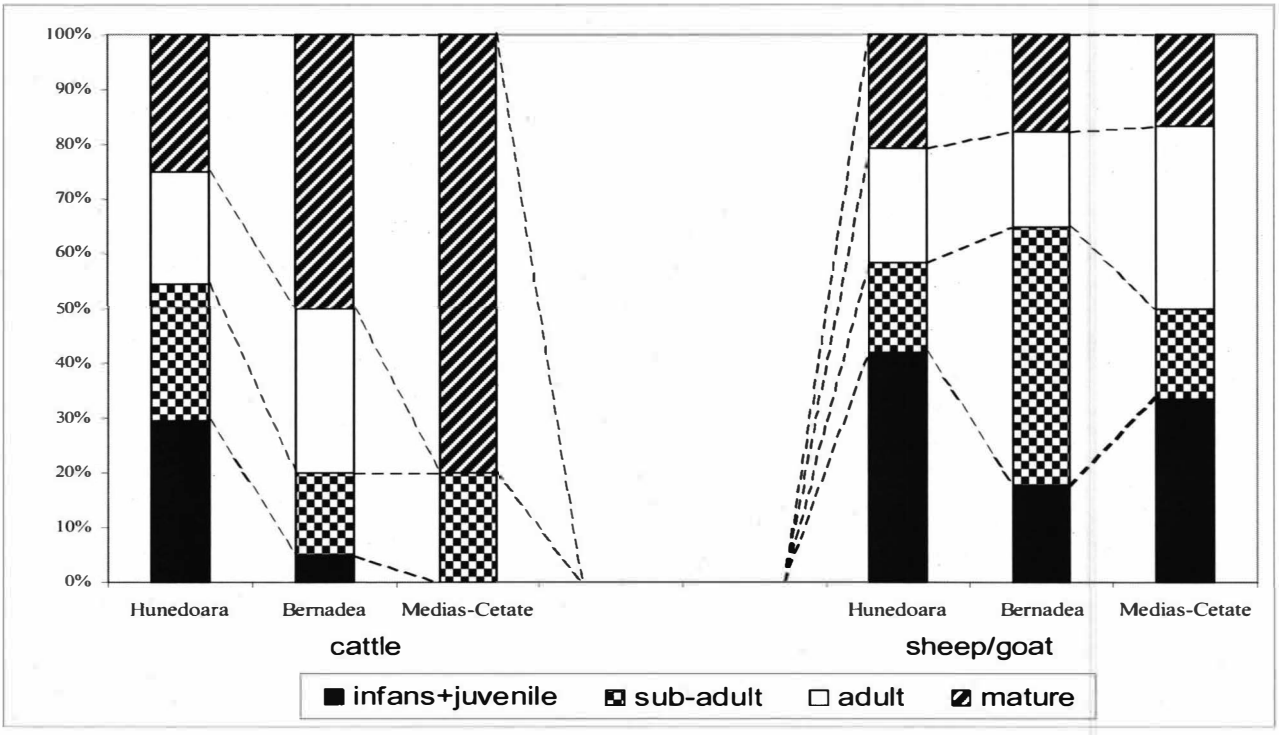

Fig. 3. Kill-of patterns at the Hallstattian sites from Transilvania.

Referring to wild/domestic ratio, in two sites the hunted mammals don't exceed 7 %, despite a forested landscape; it is the case of Hunedoara (6.2%) and Mediaş-Cetate (3.7%). In both cases wild animals played a very minor role in terms of food production despite of forested areas. A low incidence of wild mammals in economy is recorded at Bernadea (14%), as opposite to Mediaş-Gura Câmpului, with 21%. Overall the hunting took into account the meat supplying (red and roe deer, boar, aurochs, hare), raw materials provisioning (antlers, bones, teeth) or hides, furs. In general the faunal lists from sites do not reflect the richness in wild taxa in day by gone in the Transylvanian depression.

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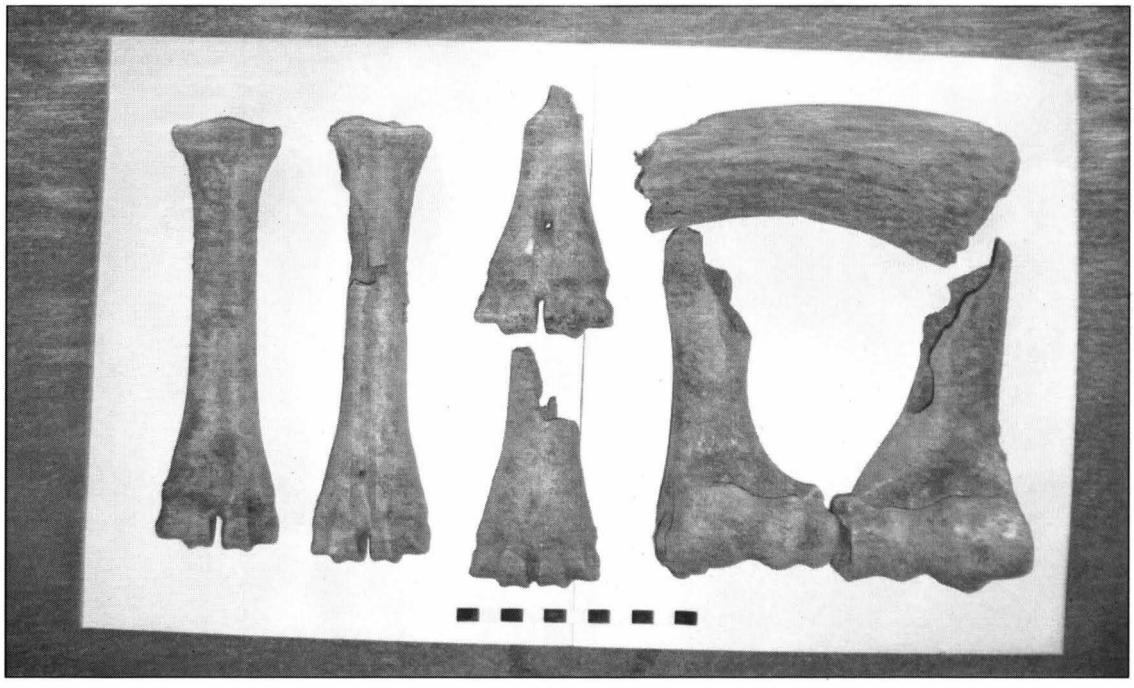

Fig. 4. Cattle bones from Pit 6.

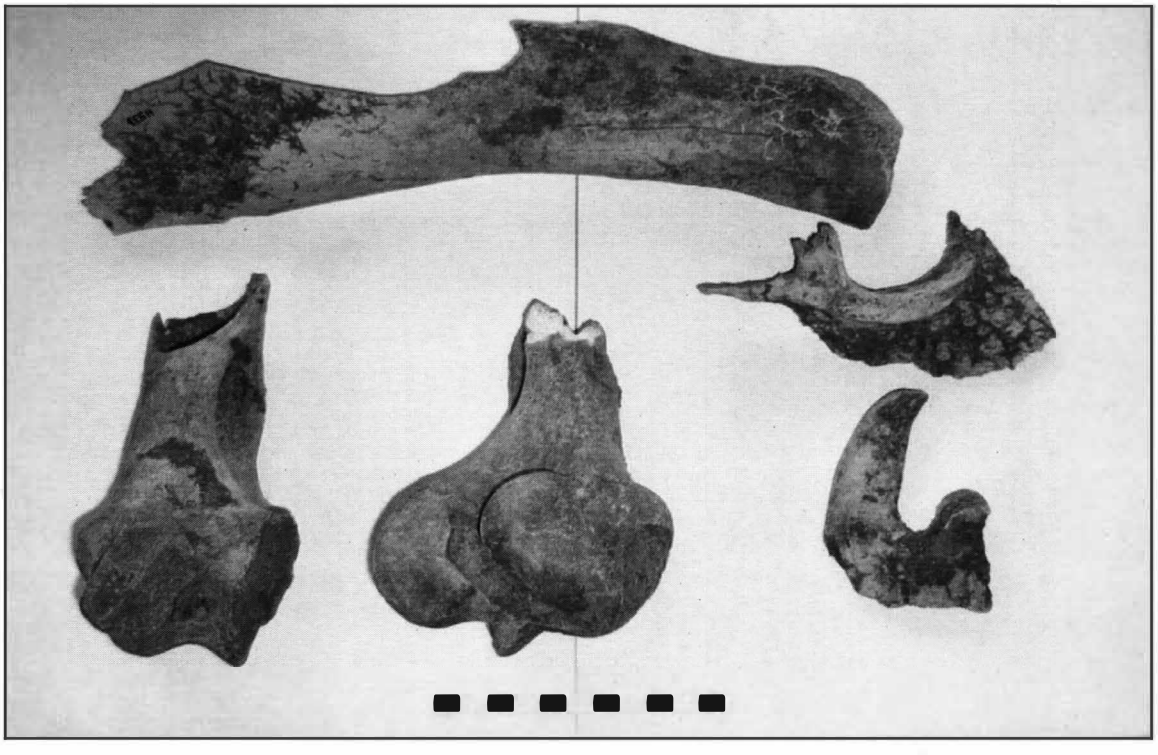

Fig. 5. Horse and cattle bones from Pit 1/2001-2002: left/bottom: horse bones; right: cattle bones from the filling.

The data set of metric evaluations attest that the cattle are approximately of the same stature at all sites, namely small and medium size (infrequently). There is no evidence for the presence of large individuals in that epoch. A rough estimation emphasizes values of 92-114 cm (cows), 107-118 cm (bulls) and 124-126 cm (gelds) in the mentioned settlements. The results confirm the supposition according to which, the cattle size decreased along the Iron Age from previous epochs[22]. Referring to pig size, a primitive type with a withers

[22] Haimovici 1967, 326.

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height over 70 cm (71.6-80.5 cm registered at Bernadea) was presumed in Hallstattian sites. Related to small ruminant size, the few data point out certain heterogeneity of sheep populations, due either to sexual dimorphism or dissimilar farming conditions. Such small sized-sheep exemplars of 57-60 cm were found at Bernadea, Hunedoara, medium ones (65 cm) at Hunedoara and large ones (67 cm) at Mediaş[23]. For goat, a single value of 50 cm was registered at Mediaş, as well[24] (Table 5).

Table 5

Measurements (cf. A. von den Driesch, 1976)

Horn cores				**Atlas**			
Gd	Sd	Circonf.		BF cr	BFcd	GL	GB
76	56.5	209	cattle	98	89	84	128.5/cattle

Maxila				**Mandibula**			
M1-M3	M3/ P4			P2-M3	M1-M3	M3/ M1	
81	30	cattle				35.5	cattle
83	29	cattle				40.5	cattle
	17	dog				32.5	pig
	17.5	dog				36	pig
Scapula				62	46	20	o/c
SLC	GLP	LG		67.5	47	20	o/c
50	72	59	cattle	63	42.5		o/c
52.5		55	cattle	61	42	21.5	o/c
57.5	61	46.5	cattle		46.5	23	o/c
21.5	35	28	goat			23	o/c
90	54	45	horse	72		20.5	dog
	67		deer				

Humerus				**Talus**			
BT	Bd	Dd		GLl	GLm	Bd	
65			cattle	66		41	cattle
65.5			cattle	68	63	42	cattle
66.5			cattle		62		cattle
73	75	78	cattle	54	50	34	deer
74			cattle	57	53	35	deer
75	81	79	cattle	63	56	37	deer
91			cattle	51	57	33	boar
		75.5	cattle	27	29	18.5	goat
	35	39	pig				
		37	pig		**Pelvis**		
		41	pig		LA		
32	39	41.5	pig		69	cattle	
27	36	34.5	pig		37	pig	
	29	26	sheep		12	hare	
28.5	31.5	26.5	sheep				

[23] Bindea, Haimovici 2004, 118

[24] *Ibidem.*

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Radius							
BFp	Bp	Dp	Bd	Dd			
71.5	80	40			cattle		
71.5	75.5	38.5			cattle		
72	78.5	38.5			cattle		
75.5	83	42			cattle		
76	81				cattle		
76.5	82.5	40.5			cattle		
77	79	39			cattle		
			69	43	cattle		
			74.5	48.5	cattle		
	31	20.5			pig		
		18.5			pig		
27.5	29	15.5			sheep		
	31	15			o/c		
25.5		14.5			sheep		
31.5	32	16			goat		
	71	43			horse		
187			22	11	dog		
	21	14			dog		

Metacarpus							
GI	Bp	Dp	Sd	Bd	Dd		
164.5	42.5	26.5	25	47	25	cattle	
	54	32				cattle	
	56.5	33				cattle	
				53.5	34.5	cattle	
				66	36	cattle	
				55.5	32	cattle	
				58.5	32	cattle	
				56	30	cattle	
Mc IV - 82.5						boar	

Metatarsus							
GL	Bp	Dp	Sd	Bd	Dd		
227.5	48.5	50	31	54	31.5	cattle	
231	47	47.5	28	53.5	29,5	cattle	
	45.5	45				cattle	
	40	41				cattle	
	48.5	46.5				cattle	
	44	44				cattle	
				53	29	cattle	
				53	31	cattle	
				57	32	cattle	
				62	34	cattle	
123	26	25	16	28		goat	
	49.5	41.5				horse	
				43	45	horse	

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Tibia				**Calcaneus**			
Bd	Dd			Gl	GB		
58	48	cattle		112	40.5	cattle	
59	37	cattle		121	47	cattle	
63	46.5	cattle		134	49	cattle	
65	40	cattle		53	21	sheep	
28	26	pig		47	16.5	dog	
26.5	20	o/c					
29	22	o/c					
29.5	24	o/c					
24	18	dog					
53	38*	deer					

* Early fused

One appreciates that the horse bred by Hallstattian communities belongs to a small medium-sized with manifold using. A single tall of 140 cm is estimated on bones at Mediaş-Cetate[25]. Insomuch as new faunal analyses for Hallstattian epoch – Basarabi community implicitely – will complete the existing data on this subject.

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FIGURINE, STATUETE ŞI CAPACE ANTROPOMORFE ŞI ZOOMORFE GETO-DACICE DIN MUNTENIA (SEC. IV A. CHR.-I P. CHR.)

VALERIU SÎRBU

Key words: Geto-Dacians, Wallachia, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines and statuettes, magic, witchcraft, religion.
Abstract. The study deals with the main morphological characteristics of the objects and the contexts in which they were discovered, as well as their chronology and diffusion area. We have also tried to highlight their cult-related features. We consider that the analysis of the discoveries of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic statuettes proves that they are different not only in terms of morphology – namely their size and artistic intent – but also of the archacological contexts in which they appearcd and their different cult meaning: the former belong to magic and witchcraft, the latter to religion.

Cuvinte-cheie: geto-daci, Muntenia, figurine şi statuete antropomorfe şi zoomorfe, magie, vrăjitorie, religie.
Rezumat. Studiul se referă la principalele caracteristici morfologice ale pieselor şi contextele în care au fost descoperite, la cronologia şi aria lor de răspândire, iar în final vom încerca să evidenţiem valenţele lor cultuale. Analiza descoperirilor de figurine şi statuete antropomorfe şi zoomorfe dovedeşte, după opinia noastră, faptul că ele se deosebesc nu numai morfologic, adică prin dimensiuni, valenţe artistice, ci şi prin contextele arheologice în care au apărut şi prin semnificaţia lor cultuală diferită: primele aparţin sferei magiei şi vrăjitoriei, iar celelalte religiei.

Zona la care ne vom referi include teritoriul mărginit de Carpaţii Meridionali, la nord, de fluviul Dunărea, la sud şi est, şi de râul Olt, la vest. Întrucât figurinele din prima epocă a fierului au fost, relativ recent, publicate[1], acum ne vom referi doar la cele din a doua epocă a fierului.

Tema abordată este, din mai multe puncte de vedere, una din cele mai interesante privitoare la viaţa spirituală a geto-dacilor.

În primul rând, figurinele şi „capacele" cu terminaţii avimorfe sunt piese destul de des întâlnite în aşezările geto-dacilor, deci se pot emite o serie de ipoteze şi concluzii de ordin general, nu numai asupra acestei zone, dar şi pe ansamblul ariei locuite de traci.

În al doilea rând, este vorba de categorii de piese care sunt creaţii locale, deci ele reflectă, indubitabil, credinţe ale comunităţilor în care ele au fost descoperite.

Deşi, datorită interesului pe care asemenea categorii de piese l-au reprezentat pentru civilizaţia tracilor, există atât o serie de studii de sinteză[2], cât şi abordări punctuale cu ocazia publicării pieselor dintr-o anumit sit[3], apreciem că analiza separată a pieselor din Muntenia poate releva anumite trăsături specifice acestei zone.

Nivelul cunoştinţelor noastre despre civilizaţia geţilor din această zonă nu este pe deplin satisfăcător, totuşi se poate urmări evoluţia principalelor ei coordonate chiar şi în actualul stadiu de cercetare. Nu vom aminti aici decât câteva sinteze ori monografii de situri[4].

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[1] Sîrbu 1999, 153-179.

[2] Turcu 1977, 53-56; 1979, 169-172; Sanie 1981, 174-195; 1995, 54-86; Sîrbu 1987_1, 91-157; 1987_2, 303-322; 1993_1, 58-70, 110-125. 1993_2, 129-175; 2006, 68-7.

[3] Vulpe 1931, 257-262; Turcu 1972, 70; Conovici 1974, 295-301; 1994, 61-83; Preda, Dupoi 1979, 77-88; Palincaş 1995, 93-103; Sîrbu 1996, 50-51, 103-104; 2004, 83-110.

[4] Andrieşescu 1924; Pârvan 1926; Vulpe 1966; Turcu 1977; Conovici 1985, 71-87; Sîrbu 1996; Sîrbu *et al.* 1996; Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005; Trohani 2005; 2006.

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Descoperirile vor fi prezentate pe situri întrucât apreciem că astfel se va putea observa mai bine rolul lor în cadrul comunităților respective. De asemenea, figurinele și statuetele vor fi analizate separat întrucât, așa cum se va vedea în final, semnificația lor a fost diferită.

Încă de la început trebuie să menționăm că doar în câteva situri s-au efectuat săpături sistematice de amploare iar rezultatele au fost cel puțin parțial publicate, așa cum este cazul la Grădiștea[5], Piscu Crăsani[6], Pietroasa Mică-*Gruiu Dării*[7], Popești[8], Căscioarele[9] și Zimnicea[10], situație reflectată și în numărul mai mare de piese și în varietatea lor tipologică.

REPERTORIUL DESCOPERIRILOR

BUCUREȘTI

Figurină zoomorfă? Protomă de capac? (Î=67mm) (Fig.12/11).

Piesă din argilă fină, cenușie, cu angoba lustruită; se păstrează doar capul și gâtul unui animal, probabil șarpe, redat destul de sugestiv, ornamentat pe gât cu incizii adânci, oblice, iar la baza capului are un șir de incizii; ochii au fost redați tot prin incizii. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

Turcu 1979, 212, pl. XXXI/5.

BUCUREȘTI-Bragadiru

Figurină antropomorfă obținută din rotula unui cal, probabil purtată ca amuletă.

Sec. II-I a. Chr.

M. Turcu 1979, 169, nota 24.

BUCUREȘTI-Cățelu Nou

Cap uman (Î=32 mm) (Fig. 11/8).

Piesă din pastă poroasă, gălbuie; deși capul este modelat fără o atenție deosebită și cu exagerarea unor caracteristici ale feței (gura, nasul), figura este realistă și expresivă; de semnalat prezența unui orificiu în obraz. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

V. Leahu 1965, 62; M. Turcu 1979, 212, pl. XXX/5.

Figurină zoomorfă (L=42 mm) (Fig. 11/7).

Piesă din pastă poroasă, gălbuie-cărămizie, corpul masiv, aproape cilindric; coada și picioarele au fost redate prin proeminențe conice; capul este spart. Deși este modelat fără multe detalii, figurina redă destul de sugestiv forța și vigoarea unui taur. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

V. Leahu 1965, 62; M. Turcu 1979, 212, pl. XXX/6.

BUDUREASCA (jud. Prahova) (Î=43 mm), descoperită într-un mormânt (Fig. 11/12)

Piesă din argilă comună, de formă aproape cilindrică, cu partea inferioară mai subțire, capul nediferențiat de trunchi, cu nasul și ochii redați prin presarea lutului, plus incizii; nu s-au individualizat mâinile și picioarele; sexul masculin este bine evidențiat. Sec. IV-III a. Chr.

Fl. Preda, V. Dupoi 1979, 83, Fig. 3.

CĂSCIOARELE-*Șuvița Hotarului* (jud. Călărași)

Figurină antropomorfă (Î=65 mm; l=60 mm), descoperită în Locuința 5 (Fig. 5/10).

Piesă din argilă fină, cu nisip, miezul și angoba cenușii; este plată, curbată, cu mâinile, picioarele și capul redate prin proeminențe conice, fără detalii ale feței. Sec. IV-III a. Chr.

Figurină zoomorfă (Î=22 mm; L=62 mm), descoperită în Locuința 22 (Fig. 5/11).

Piesă din argilă semifină ce redă, foarte probabil, un taur; corpul masiv, aproape cilindric, fără multe detalii; botul, urechile și picioarele, redate prin proeminențe conice, au vârfurile rupte. Sec. IV-III a. Chr.

Capac avimorf (Fig. 5/12)

Piesă (D=60 mm; Î=35 mm) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate, acoperit cu angobă, suportul de formă conică, aplatizat, terminația mânerului redă un cap de pasăre.

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[5] Sîrbu 1996.

[6] Andrieșescu 1924; Pârvan 1926, 173-220; Vulpe 1966, 42-45; Conovici 1974, 295-301; 1985, 76-77; 1994, 61-83.

[7] Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005.

[8] Vulpe 1957, 227-246; 1959_1, 339-349; 1959_2, 307-324; 1961, 321-338; 1962, 457-461; 1966, 27-33; Vulpe, Gheorghiță 1979, 95-104.

[9] Sîrbu *et al.* 1996.

[10] Alexandrescu 1980, 19-126.

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Mâner avimorf

Piesă (Î=33 mm) din argilă comună, cu cioburi pisate, acoperit cu angobă, cap de pasăre, greu de identificat, aşezat pe un gât de formă tronconică.

V. Sîrbu *et al*. 1996, 17, Fig. 89/4, 6; 90/4; 266, Fig. 89/1-2.

CĂSCIOARELE-*Suharna* (jud. Călăraşi)

Figurină antropomorfă, fragmentară (Î=30 mm), găsită în Locuinţa 1 (Fig. 12/14).

Piesă fragmentară, modelată din argilă comună; s-a păstrat doar partea inferioară a piciorului figurinei, realist redat, marcându-se bine talpa. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

Figurină zoomorfă (L=90 mm), descoperită în Locuinţa 3 (Fig. 12/13).

Piesă din argilă semifină, modelată destul de neglijent, deşi sugerează bine un mistreţ; are corpul aproape cilindric, râtul supradimensionat, picioarele redate prin proeminenţe conice. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

Sîrbu *et al*. 1996, 35, Fig. 89/3, 5; 90/3.

CĂTUNU (jud. Dâmboviţa)

Figurină antropomorfă masculină (Î=55 mm), descoperită într-o locuinţă (Fig. 11/9).

Piesă din argilă comună, modelată neglijent, de culoare galbuie-cărămizie, corpul aproape cilindric, capul masiv, cu ochii şi nasul indicaţi prin presarea lutului, cu picioarele în forma unor proeminenţe conice, sexul masculin puţin evidenţiat. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

Stoica 1979, 122-123, Fig. 7.

CETĂŢENI (jud. Argeş)

Figurină antropomorfă masculină, modelată din argilă curată, slab arsă; din păcate, nu avem alte informaţii. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

Conovici 1979, 297, nota 8; cercetări D. V. Rosetti.

GRĂDIŞTEA (jud. Brăila)

Figurine antropomorfe

1. *Figurină* întreagă, descoperită în Bordeiul nr. 6/1981 (Fig. 6/5).

Piesă (Î=29 mm; l=22 mm; G=12 mm) din argilă fină, angobă cenuşie-castanie, arsă inoxidant, de formă conică, picioarele tronconice, evazate, între care se află un orificiu circular, adânc.

2. *Figurină* întreagă, descoperită în Bordeiul nr. 6/1981 (Fig. 6/7).

Piesă (Î=27 mm; G=11 mm; l=15 mm) din argilă semifină, nisipoasă, cu cioburi pisate, miezul şi angoba brune-cenuşii, arsă inoxidant şi secundar. Capul rotunjit, nediferenţiat de trunchi, cu ochii şi gura redate prin incizii rotunde, iar nasul în relief, prin presarea lutului, corpul rectangular în plan şi oval în secţiune, picioarele indicate prin mici proeminenţe conice.

3. *Figurină* întreagă, descoperită în Bordeiul nr. 6/1981 (Fig. 6/2).

Piesă (Î=55 mm; G=12 mm; l=35 mm) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi mărunte, angobă cărămizie în faţă şi neagră-cenuşie la spate, arsă oxidant, capul conic, aplatizat, fără detalii ale feţei, nediferenţiat de trunchi, corpul rectangular în plan şi oval în secţiune, mâinile indicate prin proeminenţe conice, picioarele, uşor îndepărtate, au indicată talpa.

4. *Figurină* fragmentară descoperită în Groapa7/1978 (Fig. 6/8).

Piesă (D=25 mm) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate, miezul negru, angobă castanie, arsă oxidant, de forma unei stele cu cinci proeminenţe conice, cu orificiu rotund la mijloc.

5. *Figurină* feminină, descoperită în Groapa 86/1981 (Fig. 6/3).

Piesă fragmentară (Î=50 mm; G=20 mm; l=51 mm) din argilă comună, cu multe cioburi pisate, miezul cărămiziu, angoba gălbuie, arsă oxidant. Lipsesc capul şi corpul de la „stern" în jos. Corpul aproape rectangular în secţiune, sânii (unul rupt) şi braţele (unul rupt) sunt conice; la baza gâtului are trei incizii adânci, rotunde.

6. *Figurină* feminină, descoperită în Groapa 86/1981 (Fig. 6/1).

Piesă fragmentară (Î=93 mm; G=38 mm; l=78 mm) din argilă comună, cu cioburi pisate mărunt, miezul brun-negru, angobă gălbuie în faţă şi cenuşie la spate, arsă oxidant. Corpul rectangular, aplatizat, oval în secţiune, cu partea inferioară goală (D=40×24 mm). Lipsesc: sânii, capul, gâtul şi circa o treime din corp; arsă secundar.

7. *Figurină* masculină, Groapa 110/1983 (Fig. 6/4).

Piesă fragmentară (Î=35 mm) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi mărunte, miezul şi angobă gălbui-cenuşii, arsă oxidant; lipseşte piciorul drept. Are gâtul înalt, corpul rectangular, braţele şi sexul orizontale, picioarele, oblice, conice.

8. *Figurină* întreagă, descoperită în S43, Vatra nr.7 (Fig. 6/6).

Piesă (Î=48 mm; l=19 mm; G=10 mm) din argilă semifină, nisipoasă, cu mică şi cioburi pisate, angobă gălbuie-cenuşie, arsă oxidant, capul şi corpul de formă conică, curbată, aplatizat în faţă şi rotunjit la spate, mâinile redate prin proeminenţe conice, asimetrice. La bază are un orificiu rotund; nu se redau detaliile feţei şi nici sexul.

9. *Figurină întreagă*, descoperită în Bordeiul nr. 17/1997 (Fig. 7/3).

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Piesă (Î=28 mm) din argilă semifină, cu mică, arsă necontrolat, cu partea superioară de culoare cenuşie iar restul brună, de formă tronconică, picioarele redate sub forma unor proeminenţe conice; ochii au forma unor alveole, obţinuţi prin presarea lutului moale; nu se redau mâinile şi unele detalii ale feţei. Prezintă câteva câteva împunsături fine pe corp şi în ochi.

10. *Figurină întreagă*, descoperită în Bordeiul nr. 17/1997 (Fig. 7/4).

Piesă (Î=20 mm) din argilă semifină, cu mică, arsă necontrolat, cu partea anterioară cenuşie iar spatele brun, aproape de forma unei stele cu patru colţuri, capul şi mâinile fiind redate prin proeminenţe conice; nu sunt reliefate alte detalii.

11. *Figurină întreagă*, descoperită în Bordeiul nr. 17/1997 (Fig. 7/1).

Piesă (Î=29 mm) din argilă semifină, cu mică, arsă oxidant, de culoare gălbuie, de formă aproape cilindrică, cu ochii redaţi prin alveole, prin presarea lutului moale, cu orificiu transversal la mijlocul corpului, cavitate în faţă, la bază, plus câteva împunsături pe corp şi în ochi. Nu sunt redate mâinile şi picioarele.

12. *Figurină întreagă*, descoperită în Bordeiul nr. 17/1997 (Fig. 7/2).

Piesă (Î=29 mm) din argilă semifină, cu mică, arsă oxidant, de culoare gălbuie, de formă aproape cilindrică, cu ochii indicaţi prin alveole, prin presarea lutului moale, cu orificiu transversal la nivelul pieptului, câteva împunsături pe corp. Nu se redau mâinile şi picioarele.

Figurine zoomorfe

1. *Figurină* întreagă, descoperită în Groapa 167/1990 (Fig. 8/2).

Piesă (Î=40 mm; D=26 mm) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi mărunt pisate, cu miezul şi angoba de culoare gălbuie; piesa redă doar capul şi gâtul unui mamifer, aşezate pe un mic suport de formă circulară; urechile şi botul sunt reprezentate prin proeminenţe, probabil conice (acum terminaţiile lor lipsesc); e posibil să reprezinte un cap de câine. Întrucât are gardină, ar fi putut fi folosită drept capac de urcior, deşi e mai puţin probabil.

2. *Figurină*, descoperită în S 29-strat (Fig. 8/1).

Piesă (Î=47mm; L=70m) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate, angobă castanie-cenuşie, arsă oxidant; incizii pe cap, gât şi coadă, cu ochii redaţi prin incizii triunghiulare, probabil redă o pasăre de pradă (vultur?).

„Capace" avimorfe

1. *Mâner avimorf*, descoperit în Bordeiul nr. 12/1988 (Fig. 8/5).

Piesă din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, de culoare gălbuie; redă capul unei păsări cu ciocul mare, uşor deschis; ochii indicaţi prin incizii adânci, ciocul rectangular, uşor deschis.

2. *„Capac"* (Î= 62 mm; DB=94 mm) descoperit în Bordeiul nr. 7/1982 (Fig. 8/10).

Piesă din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate, angobă cărămizie-cenuşie, modelat cu mâna, ars oxidant, de formă conică, cu marginea bazei rotunjită şi arsă secundar, mânerul terminat în forma unui cap de pasăre.

3. *Mâner avimorf*, descoperit în Locuinţa nr. 20 (Fig. 8/12).

Piesă (Î=45 mm) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate, angobă cenuşie, arsă inoxidant; terminaţia mânerului este în forma unui cap de pasăre, fără alte detalii.

4. *Mâner avimorf*, descoperit în Groapa 5/1978 (Fig. 8/11).

Piesă (Î=55mm) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate, angobă gălbuie-castanie, modelată cu mâna, arsă oxidant, terminată în forma unui cap de pasăre, cu caneluri şi orificiu la nivelul ochilor.

5. *Capac cu mâner avimorf,* descoperit în Groapa 48/1979 (Fig. 8/9).

Piesă (Î=66 mm; DB=80 mm) din argilă fină, cu cioburi pisate mărunt, de culoare cărămizie, cu angobă gălbuie-castanie, modelată cu mâna, arsă oxidant; de formă conică, cu marginea bazei rotunjită, mânerul terminat în forma unui cap de pasăre, fără alte detalii.

6. *Mâner avimorf*, descoperit în Groapa 160/1989 (Fig. 8/8).

Piesă (Î=45 mm) din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate mărunt, angobă castanie-cenuşie, modelată cu mâna, arsă inoxidant; mânerul terminat în forma unui cap de pasăre, cu marcarea ochilor prin incizii.

7. *Capac avimorf,* descoperit în Bordeiul nr. 17/1998 (Fig. 7/16).

Piesă din argilă semifină, cu mică, arsă oxidant, cu miezul brun, exteriorul şi angoba de culoare castanie-gălbuie, fragmentară, păstrându-se doar partea superioară; are forma unui cap şi gât de pasăre, faţetate; nu se redau alte detalii.

8-11. Capace avimorfe (Fig. 8/3-4, 6-7).

Piese modelate din argilă semifină sau comună, cu cioburi pisate, acoperite cu angobă de culoare gălbuie ori cenuşie-neagră; redau capete de păsări greu de identificat, cu excepţia unei piese care sugerează un cap de vulture (Fig. 8/7)

Datare piese: sec. II-I a. Chr.

Sîrbu, Anastasiu 1980, 213, Fig. 3/6; 1983, 171, Fig. 11/4; 14/4b,5-6; 1985, 129, Fig. 2/1, 5/1,3; Sîrbu 1987$_1$, 98-99, Fig. 16/1-5, 7; 21/3; Sîrbu 1993$_1$, 124, Fig. 55/7-8; 1996, 103-104, Fig. 12/1-2; 23/4; 93/1, 2,5, 9-11; 94/1,2; 97/1,3-4, 6-7; 98/1-2,5-7; 2004, 85, Fig. 7/1-4.

GREACA-*La Slom* (jud. Giurgiu)

Phalus, fragmentar, descoperit în strat, în S2, caroul 1, la adâncimea de 0,60-0,82 m.

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Piesă (D=28 mm; L=43 mm) modelată din argilă semifină, acoperită cu angobă, de formă cilindrică, care redă cu naturaleţe partea anterioară a unui penis; întrucât este fragmentar nu putem şti dacă a fost modelat doar penisul ori s-a rupt de la o statuetă.

Sîrbu *et al.* 1996, p.60, Fig. 95/7, 125/4.

Figurină zoomorfă (Î=22 mm; L=38 mm) modelată din argilă semifină, cu cioburi pisate, cu angobă cărămizie, arsă oxidant; corpul este cilindric, iar picioarele şi coada sunt reprezentate prin proeminenţe conice, probabil redă un caprideu. Lipsesc capul şi picioarele din dreapta. Sec. II-I a. Chr. (Fig. 12/12).

Sîrbu *et al.* 1996, 60, Fig. 96/8.

PIETROASA MICĂ–*Gruiu Dării* (jud. Buzău)

Figurine antropomorfe

1. *Figurină* (Î=74 mm), descoperită în S_1, m. 61, - 0,69 m (Fig. 1/4; 2/1).

Piesă din argilă fină, cu mică şi cioburi pisate, modelată destul de îngrijit, arsă oxidant, complet, de culoare gălbuie, cu urme de ardere secundară în faţă, pe partea dreaptă, cu spatele spart intenţionat; capul aproape rotund, ochii şi gura realizaţi prin incizie, iar nasul prin presarea lutului, corpul rectangular în plan şi secţiune, picioarele de formă conică, acum rupte; lovitură în creştet, în lutul moale, orificiu mic între picioare. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 63, Fig. 105/4, 109/1.

2. *Figurină*, descoperită în S_2, m. 58, - 0,30 m (Fig. 1/5; 2/2).

Piesă (Î=60 mm) din argilă fină, cu mică şi cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, cu miezul incomplet ars, brun, angoba gălbuie; modelată neglijent, asimetrică, capul aproape rotund, ochii, nasul şi gura obţinuţi prin presarea lutului, mâinile asimetrice, corpul rectangular în plan şi oval în secţiune, cavitate în burtă. Întrucât piesa este mult mai grea decât dacă ar fi numai din lut, foarte probabil că are în mijloc o piesă din bronz sau plumb a cărei prezenţă se simte şi la manevrarea zonei de ruptură din dreptul mâinilor. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 64, Fig. 105/5, 109/2.

3. *Figurină*, descoperită în complexul 94 (Fig. 4/5; 5/2).

Piesă din argilă semifină, acoperită cu angobă, de formă conică, cu trei proieminenţe conice la bază şi orificiu larg la nivelul pieptului, probabil pentru purtarea ei; capul nediferenţiat de trunchi, nu se indică niciun fel de detalii ale corpului sau feţei; probabil redă o figurină de sex masculin.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001.

4. *Figurină*, descoperită în S_2, m. 27, - 0, 50 m (Fig. 1/1).

Piesă (Î=37 mm) din argilă fină, cu mică şi cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, compact; braţul drept şi piciorul stâng rupte, corpul dreptunghiular în plan şi oval în secţiune, cavitate în creştet, plus impresiuni ale degetelor pe tot corpul. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 64, Fig. 105/1, 109/4.

5. *Figurină* (Fig. 1/7; 2/4).

Piesă (Î=60 mm), cu miezul şi angoba de culoare gălbuie; partea superioară şi spatele sparte; orificiu longitudinal adânc în partea superioară şi cavitate în piept; posibil să imite piesele elenistice de tip Tanagra. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 64, Fig. 105/7

6. *Cap uman* (Fig. 1/2; 2/3).

Piesă (Î=22 mm) din argilă fină, cu cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, complet, miezul şi angoba de culoare gălbuie; de formă ovală în plan şi în secţiune, cu detaliile feţei redate prin incizii, expresivă. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 64, Fig. 105/2, 109/3.

7. *Cap uman* (?) (Fig. 1/3).

Piesă (Î=50 mm), din argilă fină, cu mică şi cioburi pisate, de formă ovală în plan şi rotund în secţiune, modelată grosolan, cu anumite incizii, ce ar putea reda detalii ale feţei. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 64, Fig. 105/3.

8. *Figurină*, descoperită în Complexul C5 (Fig. 1/6).

Piesă fragmentară, din argilă fină, cu mică, cioburi şi concreţiuni de calcar, arsă inoxidant, cu miezul negru şi angoba cenuşie; are corpul cilindric şi un canal longitudinal, aproape rotund; capul şi picioarele, rupte din antichitate; nu se indică nici un detaliu al corpului. Sec. I a. Chr.

Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 48, Fig. 55/2; 105/6.

9. *Figurină,* descoperită în Complexul C94 (Fig. 3/1).

Piesă din argilă comună, cu multe cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, cu angobă gălbuie-cenuşie, neglijent modelată, uşor curbată spre faţă, partea din spate a corpului despărţită în două printr-o incizie adâncă, cu orificiu transversal la nivelul pieptului, picioarele redate prin proeminenţe conice; nu se indică nici un detaliu al corpului sau al feţei. Sec. I a. Chr.

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Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 48, Fig. 94/13.

10. *Figurină*, descoperită fortuit.

Este o piesă mai îngrijit modelată, cu redarea unor părți ale corpului și detalii ale feței.

Inedită. Informații M. Constantinescu

Figurine zoomorfe

1. *Figurină,* descoperită în S_1, m. 15, - 1,10 m (Fig. 3/2; 4/2).

Piesa (L=55 mm, Î=35 mm) modelată cu grijă, din argilă fină, cu mică, arsă oxidant, miezul cărămiziu, angoba gălbuie; membrele redate, probabil, prin proeminențele conice; coarnele, botul și picioarele rupte; redă un taur. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 65, Fig. 106/2; 110/5.

2. *Figurină* (Fig. 3/6; 4/3).

Piesă (L=42 mm; Î=26 mm), modelată cu grijă, din argilă fină, cu mică, arsă oxidant, interiorul și angoba de culoare gălbuie-alburie, jumătate din piesă este spartă; botul, coarnele și picioarele au fost redate prin proeminențe conice; probabil redă un ovicaprin.

Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 65 Fig. 106/5.

3. *Figurină*, descoperită în S_5, m. 45, - 0,30 m (Fig. 3/3; 4/1).

Piesă (L=35 mm, Î=17 mm), modelată cu grijă, din argilă fină, cu mică și cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, de culoare gălbuie; are linii și puncte incizate pe diverse zone ale corpului. Probabil redă o țestoasă, fără a se exclude și un mamifer. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 65, Fig. 106/3; 110/1.

4. *Cap de figurină* (Fig. 3/4).

Piesă (L=17 mm), modelată din argilă fină, cu mică, arsă oxidant, cu interiorul și angoba de culoare gălbuie-cărămizie; probabil redă o felină. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 65, Fig. 106/4.

5. *Figurină* (Fig. 3/5).

Piesă fragmentară, păstrându-se doar partea anterioară, din argilă fină, cu multe cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, cu miezul și angoba de culoare gălbuie-portocalie, picioarele, botul și urechile rupte (de menționat că zona de ruptură a unei urechi a fost polizată).

Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 49, Fig. 95/13.

6. *Figurină* (Î=24 mm; D=23 mm), descoperită în Complexul 4 (Fig. 5/7)

Piesă din argilă semifină, cu suprafața nefinisată, de culoare cărămizie, arsă oxidant, de formă tronconică, cu baza concavă; redă un cap de mamifer, cu botul ușor ridicat în sus; vârful urechilor sunt rupte acum. Nu se indică alte detalii.

Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 106, Fig. 54/7.

Mânere cu terminații avimorfe ori în capete de mamifer

1. *Mâner de capac*, descoperit S_5, m. 17 (Fig. 5/1).

Piesă în formă de cap de mamifer (Î=33 mm), din argilă fină, cu mică, ars inoxidant, de culoare cenușie; terminația mânerului redă, foarte probabil, un cap de mamifer fără coarne. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 65, Fig. 107/1.

2. *Mâner avimorf de capac*, descoperit în S_2, m. 25, - 0,47m (Fig. 5/4).

Piesă (Î=60 mm) din argilă fină, cu cioburi pisate, arsă inoxidant, de culoare cenușie; se indică, prin incizie, doar ochii. Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 65, Fig. 107/4.

3. *Mâner avimorf de capac* (Î=25 mm) (Fig. 5/3).

Piesă din argilă fină, arsă inoxidant, de culoare cenușie; se indică doar ochii.

Sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 65, Fig. 107/3.

4. *Mâner de capac* (Î=40 mm), descoperit în Complexul 17 (Fig. 5/6).

Piesă din argilă comună, cu pietricele și cioburi pisate, ardere necontrolată, de culoare brună, cu pete cărămizii; piesă de formă conică a cărui terminație redă un cap de mamifer, cu botul și urechile redate prin proeminențe conice; probabil redă un cap de ovicaprin. Nu se indică alte detalii.

Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 104, Fig. 60/9.

5. Capac avimorf (Î=63 mm; D=146 mm), descoperit în Complexul 71 (Fig. 5/8).

Piesă din argilă fină, bine finisată, de culoare cenușie, ardere inoxidantă, de formă hemisferică, aplatizată, cu gardină de așezare pe văscior; terminația sugerează un cap de pasăre.

Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 104, Fig. 78/7.

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6. *Mâner avimorf de capac* (Î=53 mm), descoperit în Complexul 81 (Fig. 5/9).

Piesă din argilă semifină, ardere oxidantă, de culoare maronie-închisă; probabil de la un capac cu mânerul terminat în forma unui cap de pasăre; nu se indică nici un fel de detalii.

Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 104, Fig. 81/2.

7. *Mâner avimorf de capac* (Î=57 mm), descoperit în strat (Fig. 5/5).

Piesă din argilă semifină, cu rare pietricele, cu suprafaţa bine finisată, arsă inoxidant, de culoare cenuşie-negricioasă; redă un cap de pasăre cu ochii indicaţi prin incizii.

Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 104, Fig. 95/2.

PISCUL CRĂSANI, com. Balaciu (jud. Ialomiţa)

Figurine antropomorfe

1. *Figurină masculină,* întreagă, găsită pe vatra unei locuinţe incendiate (Fig. 9/1).

Piesă (Î=38,7 mm) din argilă semifină, slab arsă, de culoare brun-gălbuie, cu partea inferioară rectangulară iar cea superioară triunghiulară în plan, picioarele abia sugerate prin mici proeminenţe conice; are câteva înţepături în zona feţei, urechilor şi în dreapta pieptului. Sec. II a. Chr.

Conovivi 1974, 295, Fig. 1/1, 2/1; 1994, 74.

2. *Figurină masculină, întreagă*, descoperită într-o groapă (Fig. 9/2).

Piesă (Î=57,5 mm) din argilă semifină, modelală destul de neglijent, slab arsă, de culoare brun-gălbuie. Partea superioară a corpuluii este rectangulară în plan, capul nu este diferenţiat de trunchi, picioarele sunt redate în forma unor proeminenţe conice, lungi. Ochii sunt redaţi prin alveole adânci, nasul este în relief, prin presarea lutului cu degetele, sexul masculin este bine marcat, sugerându-se şi anusul. Pe creştet este incizat un motiv cruciform, care se continuă pe spate şi pe părţile laterale până la linia şoldurilor. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

Conovivi 1974, 297, Fig. 1/2, 2/2; 1994, 74.

3. *Figurină masculină, întreagă*, descoperită într-o groapă (Fig. 9/3).

Piesă (Î=50 mm) din argilă zgrunţuroasă, arsă incomplet, de culoare brun-roşcată; capul este rectangular, cu partea superioară rotunjită, nasul şi ochii fiind redaţi prin presarea lutului cu degetele, plus incizii adânci, iar picioarele prin proeminenţe masive, tronconice, sexul masculin este proeminent; în zona pieptului are o cavitate adâncă, cu o incizie în mijloc, iar pe creştet este incizat un semn în forma literei «Y». Sec. II a. Chr.

Conovivi 1974, 297, Fig. 1/3, 2/3; 1994, 78.

4. *Figurină feminină*, descoperită în Groapa 7 (Fig. 9/4).

Piesă fragmentară (Î=55 mm) din argilă de slabă calitate, arsă incomplet, de culoare brun-portocalie, cu urme de ardere secundară. Lipsesc capul şi picioarele, mâinile abia sunt sugerate printr-o reliefare convexă a părţilor laterale, iar sânii au fost redaţi prin proeminenţe aplatizate. Sec. II a. Chr.

Conovici 1974, 297-298, Fig. 1/4, 2/4.

5. *Figurină masculină*, găsită în Groapa 12 (Fig. 9/5).

Piesă (Î=76 mm) modelată din argilă fină, arsă oxidant, neuniform, de culoare roz-gălbuie. Corpul de formă cilindrică, aplatizat, capul conic, cu creştetul rotunjit, ochii şi nasul redaţi prin presarea lutului moale cu degetele, braţele şi picioarele indicate prin proeminenţe conice. Sexul masculin este indicat tot prin presarea lutului.

Conovici 1994, 78, Fig. 7/36; 1994, 78, Fig. 7/36.

6. *Figurină antropomorfă*, găsită în Groapa 12 (Fig. 9/6).

Piesă (Î=73 mm) modelată din argilă fină, arsă oxidant, neuniform, de culoare roz-gălbuie. Corpul de formă ovală, capul conic, cu creştetul rotunjit, nediferenţiat de trunchi, ochii şi nasul redaţi prin presarea lutului moale cu degetele, braţele şi picioarele indicate prin proeminenţe conice; braţele şi picioarele prezintă perforaţii adânci, pe toată lungimea lor, făcute cu un ac.

Conovici 1994, 78, Fig. 7/37.

7. *Figurină masculină*, găsită în Locuinţa 6 (Fig. 9/7).

Piesă (Î=48 mm) modelată cu neglijenţă, din argilă grosieră, arsă oxidant, cu fisuri; corpul este rectangular în plan, capul nediferenţiat clar de trunchi, creştetul rotunjit, ochii şi nasul redaţi prin presarea lutului, iar picioarele, mâinile şi sexul prin proeminenţe conice. Prezintă numeroase cavităţi pe corp, obţinute prin presarea lutului cu vârful degetelor; piciorul stâng este rupt.

Conovici 1994, 78, Fig. 7/38.

8. *Figurină*, găsită într-un Bordeiul B XII (Fig. 9/9).

Piesă (Î=52 mm) modelată sumar, din argilă comună, arsă oxidant, de culoare brună-deschisă, cu multe fisuri; corpul de formă tronconică, capul nediferenţiat de trunchi, ochii şi nasul redaţi prin presarea lutului, cu picioarele în forma unor proeminenţe conice; împunsătură în zona sexului.

Conovici 1994, 78, Fig. 7/39.

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9. *Figurină feminină*, descoperită în ultimul nivel (Fig. 9/10).

Piesă (Î=49 mm; D.bază=28 mm) modelată din argilă grosieră, cu multe cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, incomplet, de culoare brun-cărămizie; corpul de formă ovală, cu braţele şi sânii redaţi prin proeminenţe conice, cu baza în forma unui postament albiat, poate sugerând o rochie. Capul este rupt, dar la baza lui avea o linie incizată, orizontală.

Conovici 1994, 78, Fig. 7/40.

10. *Figurină feminină*, găsită în Groapa 71 (Fig. 9/11).

Piesă (Î=62 mm) modelată din argilă grosieră, arsă oxidant, corpul de formă ovală, înalt şi subţire, capul nediferenţiat de trunchi, baza ca un postament albiat, sânii indicaţi prin mici proeminenţe, ochii şi nasul obţinuţi prin presarea lutului.

Conovici 1994, 78, Fig. 7/41.

11. *Figurină antropomorfă* (?), găsită în Groapa 8 a Bordeiului B VIII (Fig. 9/12).

Piesă (Î=68 mm) din argilă comună, poroasă, cu multe bule de aer, modelată neglijent, arsă oxidant, neuniform, de culoare brună; corpul aproape cilindric, cu o alveolă în partea superioară, cea inferioară fiind subţiată; lateral, în zona trunchiului, are două proeminenţe alungite, subţiri, ca nişte aripioare de peşte.

Conovici 1994, 78, Fig. 7/42.

12. *Figurină antropomorfă* (?) (Fig. 9/13).

Piesă (Î=52 mm; L=20 mm) din argilă poroasă, arsă oxidant, neuniform, de culoare brună; corpul de formă ovală, cu o alveolă în partea superioară, plus alte două în zona posibilei feţe.

Conovici 1994, 78, Fig. 7/43.

13. *Figurină*, fragmentară, probabil feminină; descoperită deasupra podelei unei încăperi din nord-estul zonei sacre (Fig. 9/16).

Piesă (Î=44 mm) modelată din argilă grosieră, cu cioburi pisate, arsă inoxidant, inegal. Bust fără braţe, drapat cu falduri oblice crestate, la bază are o linie orizontală, sub care sunt linii verticale, paralele, toate crestate; pe piept sunt trei împunsături, iar la baza gâtului o linie incizată, care ar putea sugera un colier; capul este rupt din vechime. Evident, piesa imită o *terracota* elenistică, deşi asemenea piese nu s-au descoperit în acest sit.

Conovici 1994, 70, Fig. 4/14.

14. *Figurină*, descoperită în Gr.125, aflată la est de altar, sub podeaua unei locuinţe (Fig. 9/8).

Piesă (Î=47 mm) modelată din argilă grosieră, arsă incomplet şi secundar. Piesă de formă conică, fără braţe, cu trei proeminenţe la bază, ochii redaţi prin presarea lutului cu degetele; perforată la nivelul umerilor.

Conovici 1994, 70, Fig. 4/15.

Figurine zoomorfe

1. *Figurină*, descoperită în strat (Fig. 12/1).

Piesă (Î=21 mm; L=32 mm) modelată din argilă grosieră, poroasă, arsă oxidant şi secundar. Corpul ovoidal, capul triunghiular, asimetric, picioarele redate prin proieminenţe conice, cele din faţă mai îndepărtate; probabil redă un ursuleţ.

Conovici 1994, 74, Fig. 7/46.

2-3. Se menţionează descoperirea, pe mamelonul central, a unui cap de figurină zoomorfă şi a altei piese fragmentare, dar nu avem alte detalii despre ele.

Andrieşescu 1924, 27.

Mânere ornitomorfe

1. *Mâner*, descoperit pe mamelonul estic, în S.XIV, c. 2, -0,65 m (Fig. 12/7).

Piesă (Î=50 mm) modelată cu mâna din argilă fină, arsă oxidant, incomplet, cu suprafaţa neagră, lustruită; redă un cap de păsăre, cu cicul rupt din vechime, coada lată, patrulateră în plan, picioarele detaşate, prinse pe suport.

2. *Mâner*, fragmentar, descoperit în S.XIV, c.5, -1,00 m, în strat (Fig. 12/9).

Piesă (Î=42 mm) modelată cu mâna din argilă grosieră, cu cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, incomplet, acoperită cu angobă, lustruită; se păstrează doar partea superioară a piesei, care redă un cap de pasăre, îngust, fără nici un detaliu.

3. *Mâner*, fragmentar, descoperit în S.XIV, Gr. 16 (Fig. 12/8).

Piesă (Î=51 mm) modelată cu mâna din argilă semifină, arsă oxidant, incomplet, acoperită cu angobă brună; redă, probabil, un cap de pasăre răpitoare, ochii indicaţi prin incizii.

4. *Capac* fragmentar, descoperit pe mamelonul estic, suprafaţa C (Fig. 12/2).

Piesă (Î=50 mm) conică, modelată cu mâna din argilă comună, cu cioburi pisate, arsă reducător, cu angobă neagră, lustruită; redă un cap de pasăre, greu de precizat întrucât ciocul este rupt.

5. *Mâner*, descoperit pe mamelonul estic, în S.XIV, c. 16, -0,40 m (Fig. 12/3).

Piesă (Î=54 mm), posibil modelată cu roata, din argilă semifină, de culoare brună-cenuşie, la bază are un inel în relief; redă capul unei păsări greu de precizat întrucât ciocul este rupt. După forma bazei ar fi putut fi folosit drept capac de urcior.

6. *Capac*, descoperit pe mamelonul vestic, suprafaţa A, în strat (Fig. 12/4).

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Capac (Î=56 mm; D=105 mm) hemisferic, modelat cu mâna din argilă comună, cu cioburi pisate, ars oxidant, incomplet; terminaţia piesei este ruptă aşa că nu putem şti ce pasăre reprezenta.

7. *Mâner* avimorf, găsită în aşezarea nefortificată de pe *Platou,* în strat (Fig. 12/5).

Piesă (Î=60 mm) modelată cu mâna din argilă comună, cu cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, acoperită cu angobă brun-gălbuie; redă, probabil, un cap de gâscă, cu ochii indicaţi printr-un cerc imprimat cu punct la mijloc.

8. *Mâner* avimorf, descoperit fortuit, în aşezarea fortificată (Fig. 6/6).

Piesă fragmentară (Î=35 mm) modelată cu mâna din argilă comună, cu cioburi pisate, arsă oxidant, incomplet, cu angobă brună, lucioasă; redă un cap de pasăre, imposibil de precizat.

Conovici 1994, 74, Fig. 6/25-30.

POPEŞTI (jud. Ilfov)

Figurine antropomorfe

S-au descoperit 15-18 figurine antropomorfe dar, din păcate, numai o parte din ele au fost publicate; pe baza informaţiilor pe care le avem doar la cinci exemplare s-a indicat sexul masculin, iar la alte trei cel feminin, în celelate cazuri nu există nici un indiciu în acest sens.

1). *Figurină* (Fig. 11/2).

Piesă (Î=100 mm) din argilă comună, poroasă, cărămizie la exterior şi neagră în spărtură; capul, mâinile şi picioarele sunt redate prin proeminenţe conice, iar ochii prin două mici cavităţi.

Turcu 1979, 211, Fig. XXXV/1.

2). *Figurină* (Fig. 11/4).

Piesă (Î=35 mm) din argilă comună, poroasă, de formă conică, aplatizată, cu nasul în forma ciocului de pasăre şi ochii redaţi prin două cavităţi.

Turcu 1979, 211, Fig. XXXV/2.

3). *Figurină* (Fig. 11/1).

Piesă (Î=40 mm) din argilă comună, cu multe pietricele, de culoare cenuşie, cu urme de vopsea roşie, de formă tronconică, aplatizată, cu ochii şi nasul redaţi prin presarea lutului; cavitate în zona abdomenului.

Turcu 1979, 211, Fig. XXXV/3.

4). *Figurină* (Fig. 11/3).

Piesă (Î=38 mm) din argilă comună, poroasă, cenuşie, de formă tronconică, aplatizată, cu capul rotunjit şi picioarele ca nişte proeminenţe conice; ochii şi nasul au fost redate prin presarea lutului.

Turcu 1979, 211-212, Fig. XXXV/4.

5) *Figurină masculină*, descoperită în strat (Fig.).

Piesă (Î=51 mm) modelată din argilă de bună calitate, cu nisip şi paiete, cu angobă brun-deschisă, cu nuanţe cenuşii. Întrucât a fost spartă este dificil de precizat forma corpului şi a capului; cert e faptul că mâinile, picioarele şi sexul au fost redate prin proeminenţe conice. Deosebit e faptul că în ea a fost încorporat un vârf de săgeată din fier, a cărui vârf era în zona sexului; s-a constatat că figurina a fost modelată în jurul vârfului de săgeată.

Palincaş 1995, 93-95, Fig. 1-2.

6) *Figurină antropomorfă* (?), descoperită în zona «palatului» (Fig. 11/5).

Piesă (Î=37 mm) în forma unui trunchi de piramidă, triunghiulară în secţiune, cu orificiu longitudinal şi transversal, la nivelul «umerilor». Nu se redau alte detalii.

Vulpe 1959, 13.14, Fig. 12/9.

Capace avimorfe

„Capac" avimorf, fragmentar

Piesă modelată cu roata, din argilă fină, arsă inoxidant, de culoare cenuşie; se păstrează doar mânerul, de formă tronconică, cu inele în relief la bază, terminaţia redă, probabil, un cap de vulture cu ciocul scurt, cu ochii indicaţii prin incizii adânci.

Vulpe 1959, 313, Fig. 9/4.

RADOVANU (jud. Călăraşi)

Figurine antropomorfe

În aşezarea de pe „*Gorgana a doua*" s-au descoperit, cel puţin, 7 figurine antropomorfe, dar doar două au fost ilustrate: la una din piese este reprezentat sexul masculin, pe când la celelalte nu este indicat. Patru exemplare, două câte două, au fost descoperite în gropi, iar restul provin din strat: este vorba de piese de tipuri diferite, cu înălţimea cuprinsă între 38-80 mm. Spre exemplificare, una din piese are corpul rectangular, capul, mâinile şi picioarele fiind redate prin proeminenţa conice, fără detalii ale corpului, pe când alta are capul nedelimitat de corp, fără mâini, picioarele masive, cu redarea detaliilor feţei prin adâncituri ori incizii, iar sexul masculin este bine indicat. Majoritatea pieselor au orificii, incizii ori proeminenţe pe corp.

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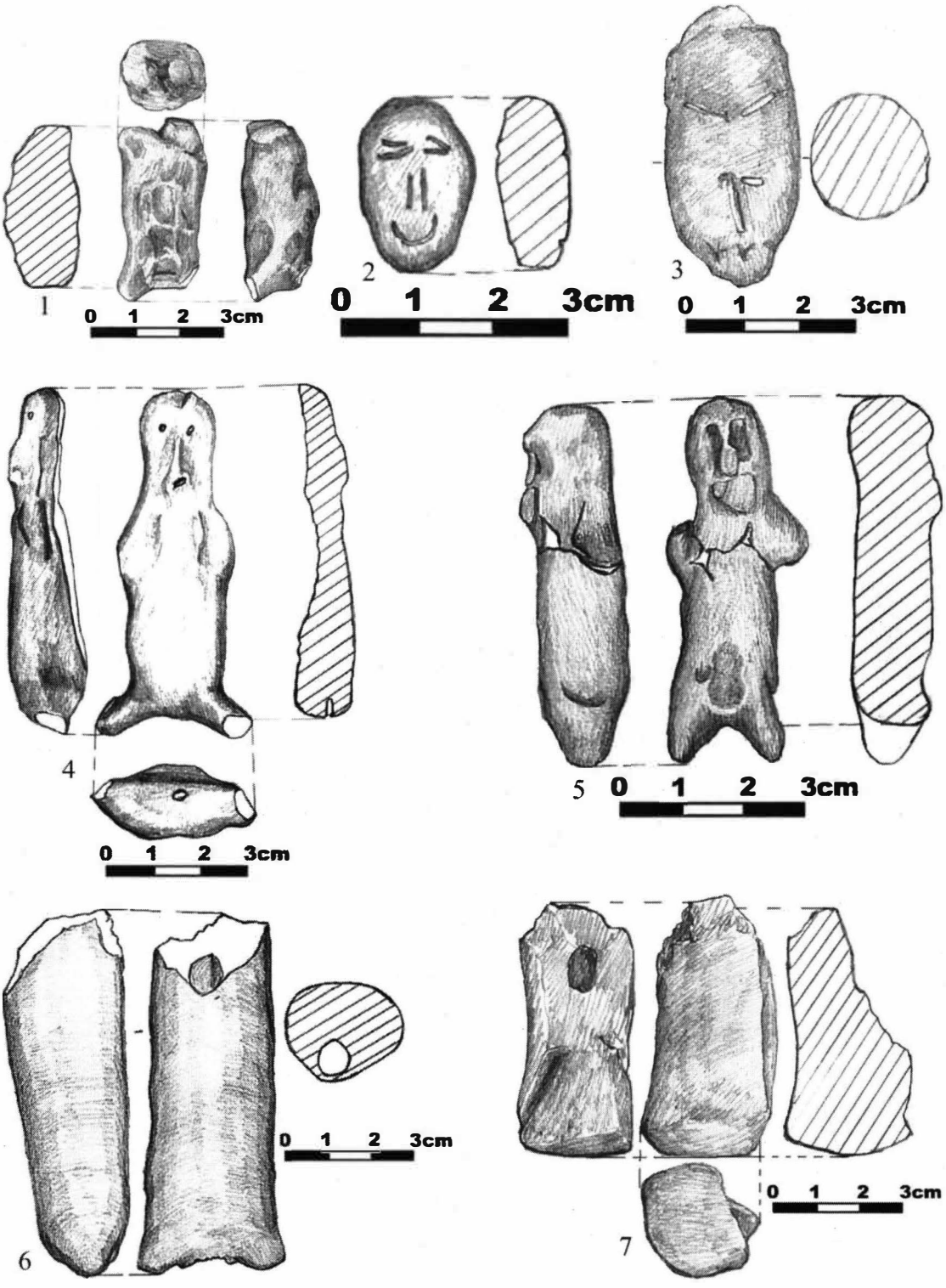

Fig. 1. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, jud. Buzău. Figurine antropomorfe (după V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001).

Fig. 1. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, Buzău county. Anthropomorphic figurines (from V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001).

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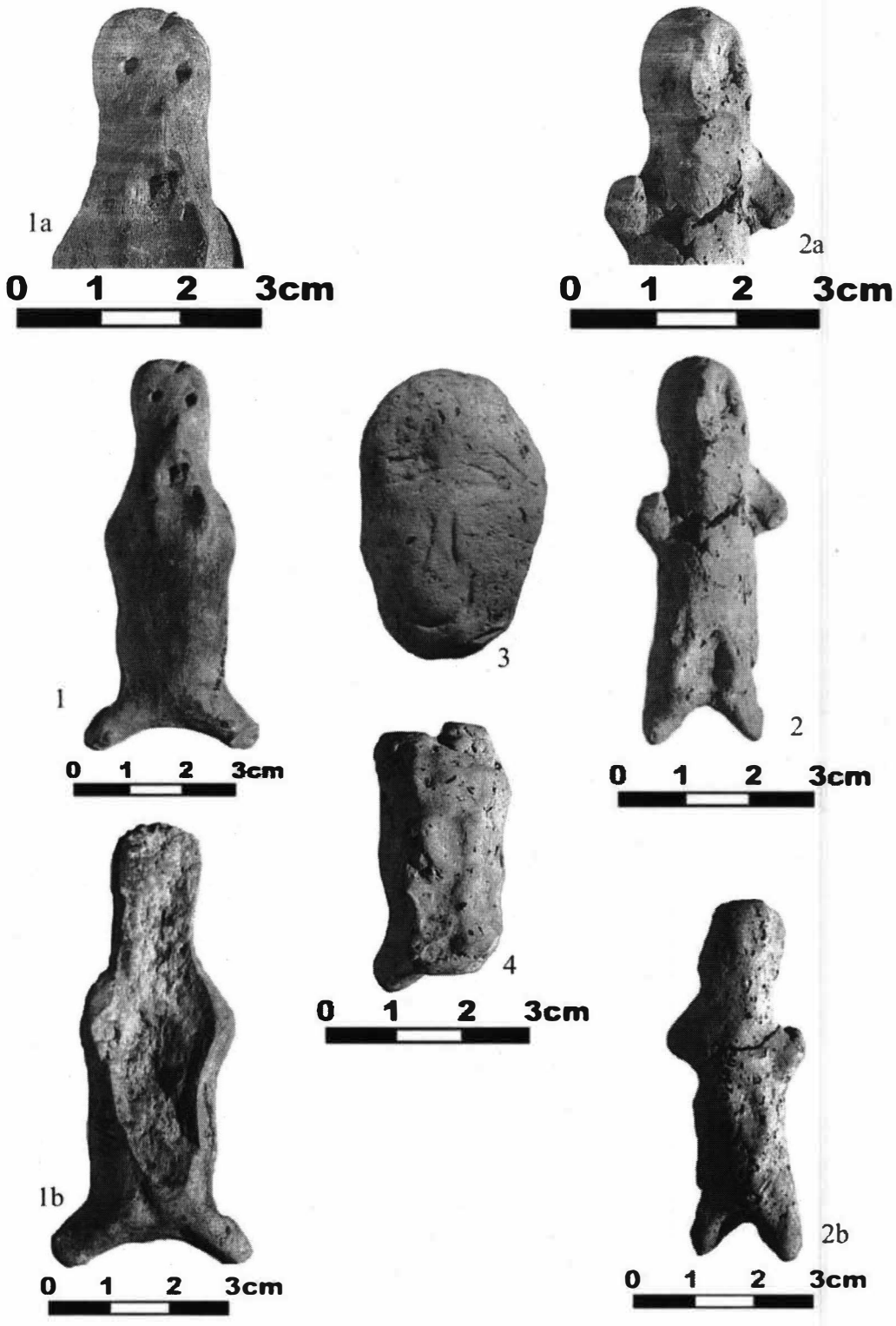

Fig. 2. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, jud. Buzău. Figurine antropomorfe (după V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001).

Fig. 2. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, Buzău county. Anthropomorphic figurines (from V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001).

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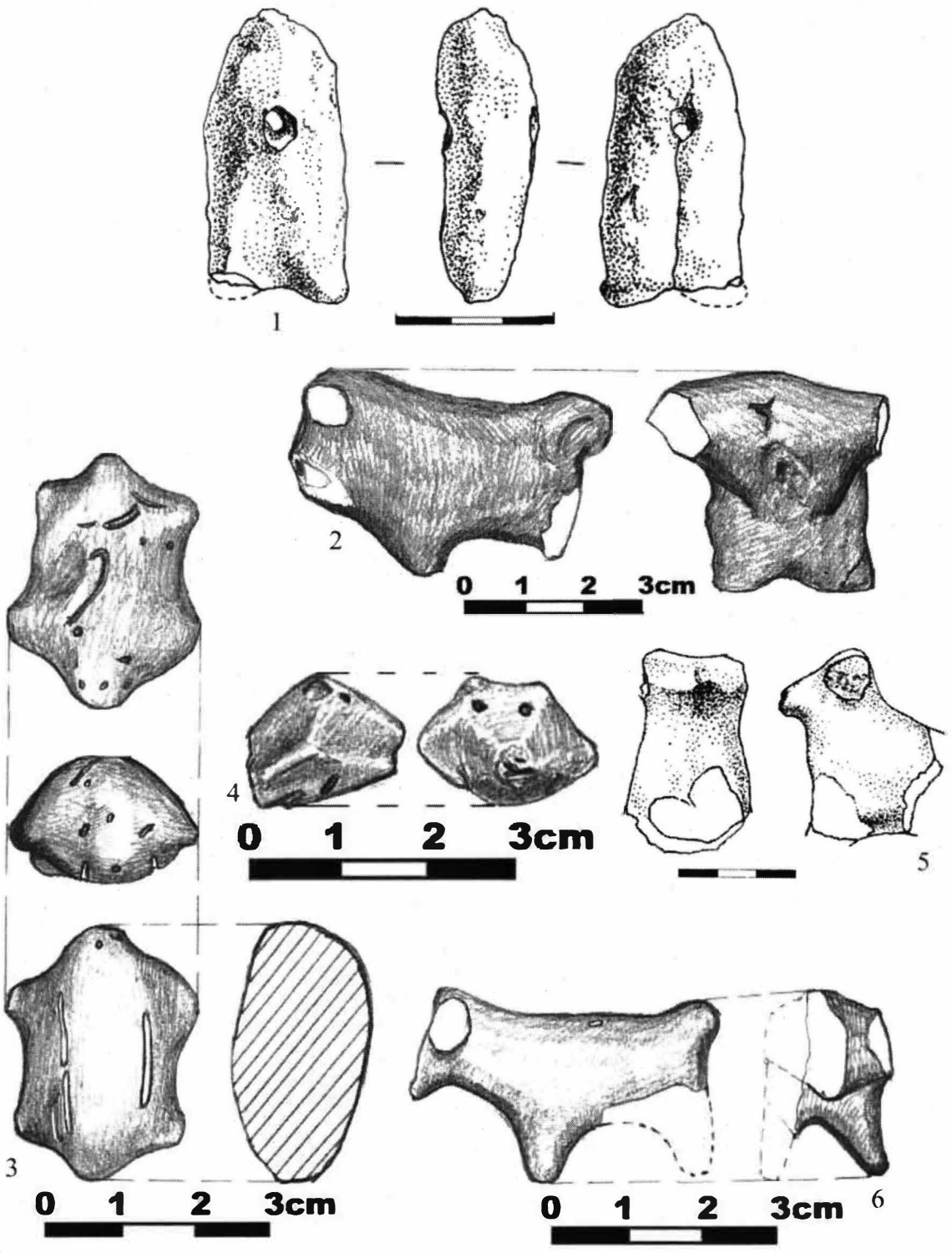

Fig. 3. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, jud. Buzău. Figurine antropomorfe (1) şi zoomorfe (2-6) (după V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001).

Fig. 3. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, Buzău county. Anthropomorphic (1) and zoomorphic figurines (2-6) (from V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001).

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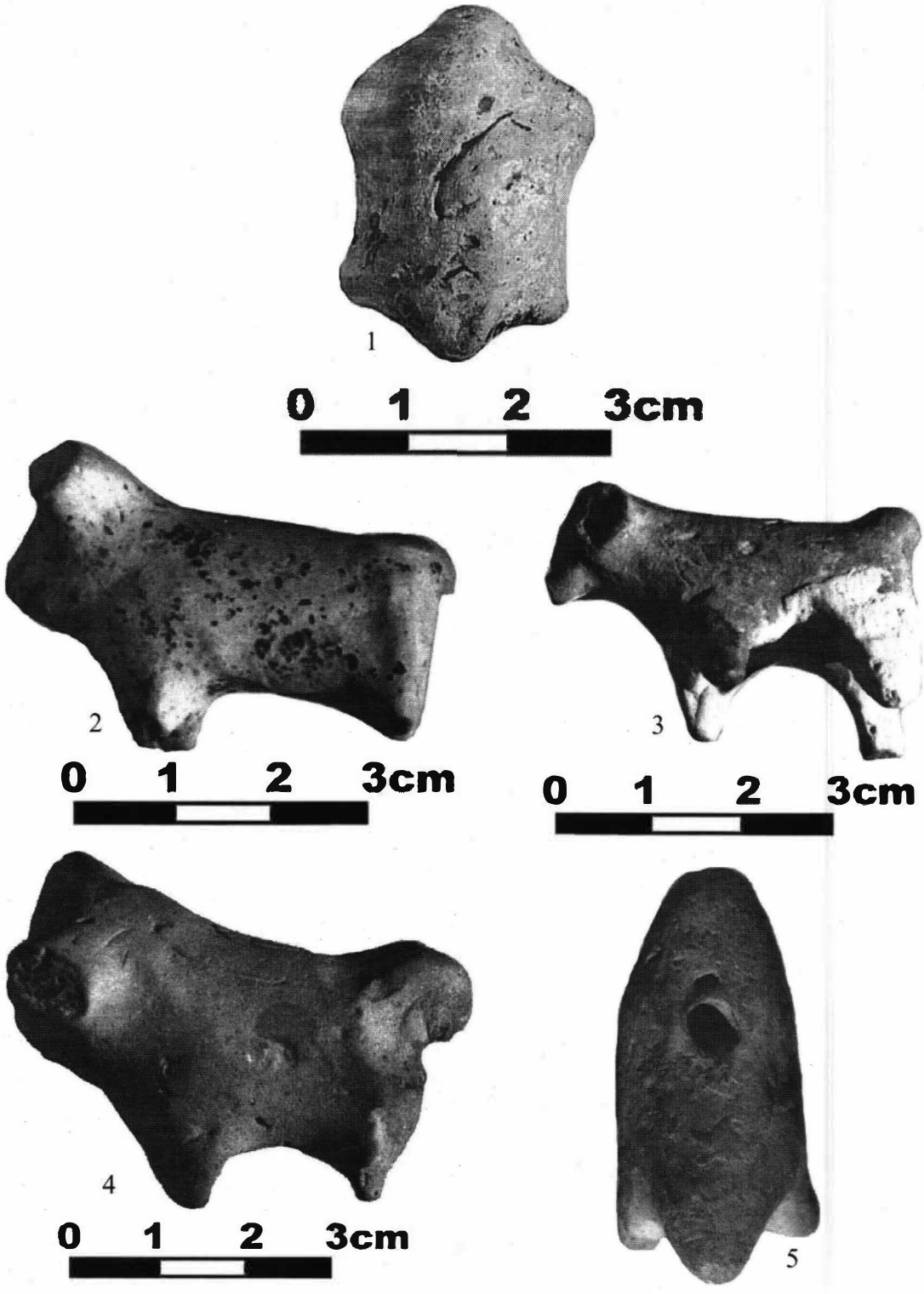

Fig. 4. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, jud. Buzău. Figurine zoomorfe (1-4) şi antropomorfă (5) (după V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001).

Fig. 4. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, Buzău county. Zoomorphic figurines (1-4) and anthropomorphic figurine (5) (from V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001).

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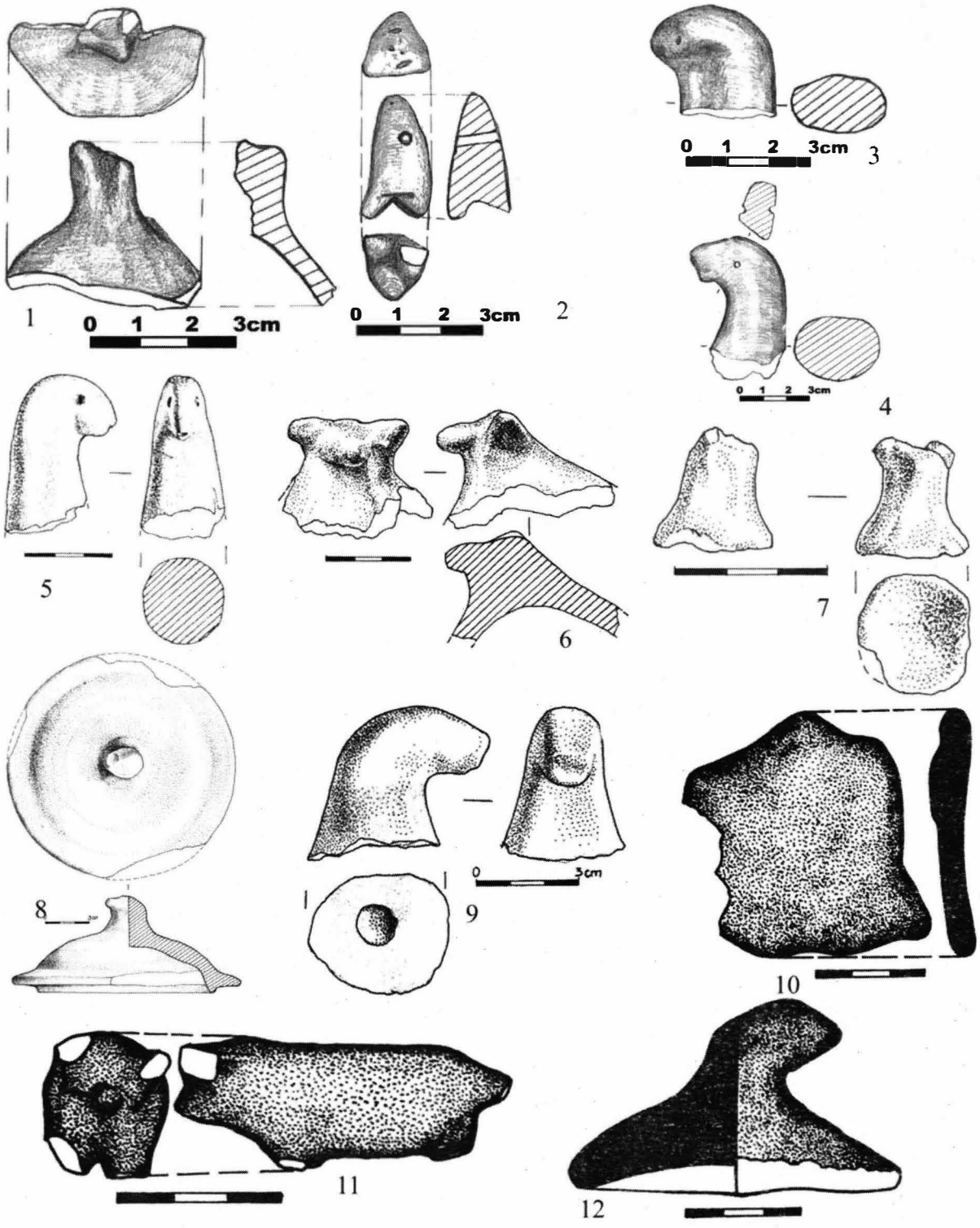

Fig. 5. 1-9. Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, jud. Buzău. Mânere de capace terminate în formă de cap de mamifer (1, 6), de pasăre (3-5, 8-9) şi figurină antropomorfă (2) şi zoomorfă (7); 10-12 Căscioarele–*Şuviţa Hotarului*. 10 Figurină antropomorfă, 11 figurină zoomorfă, 12 capac avimorf (după V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001; V. Sîrbu *et al.* 1996).

Fig. 5. 1-9 Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu Dării*, Buzău county. Lid handles with ends shaped like the head of a mammal (1, 6), bird (3-5, 8-9), anthropomorphic figurine (2) and zoomorphic figurine (7); 10-12 Căscioarele–*Şuviţa Hotarului*. 10 Anthropomorphic figurine, 11 zoomorphic figurine, 12 bird-shaped lid (from V. Dupoi, V. Sîrbu 2001; V. Sîrbu *et al.* 1996).

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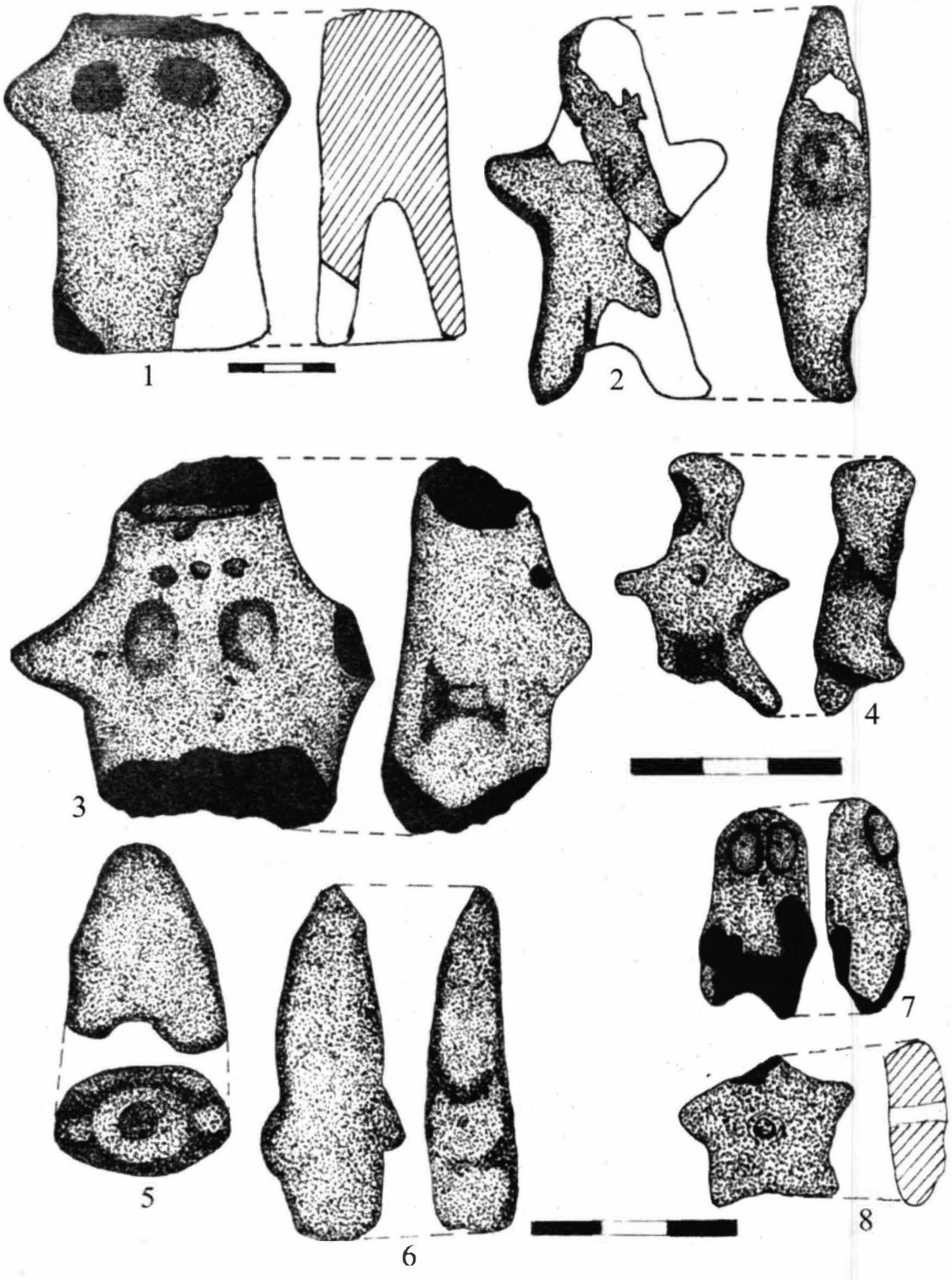

Fig. 6. Grădiştea, jud. Brăila. Figurine antropomorfe (după V. Sîrbu 1996).

Fig. 6. Grădiştea, Brăila county. Anthropomorphic figurines (from V. Sîrbu 1996).

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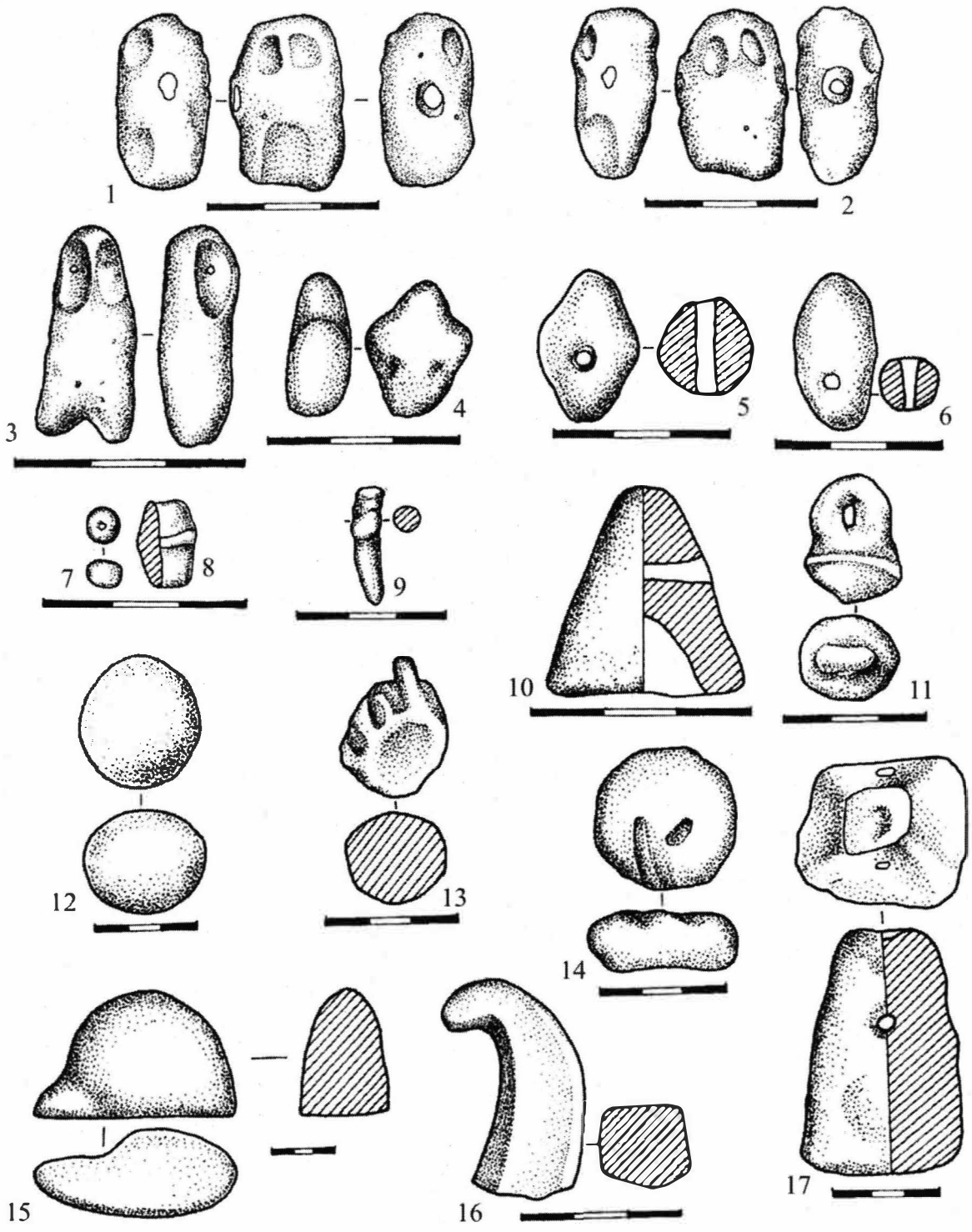

Fig. 7. Grădiştea, jud. Brăila. Bordeiul 17. Figurine antropomorfe (1-4), mâner avimorf (16) şi diverse piese din lut (5-14, 17) şi piatră (15) (după V. Sîrbu 1996).

Fig. 7. Grădiştea, Brăila county. Artefacts from Hut 17. Anthropomorphic figurines (1-4), bird-shaped lid (16) and clay (5-14, 17) and stone (15) pieces (from V. Sîrbu 2004).

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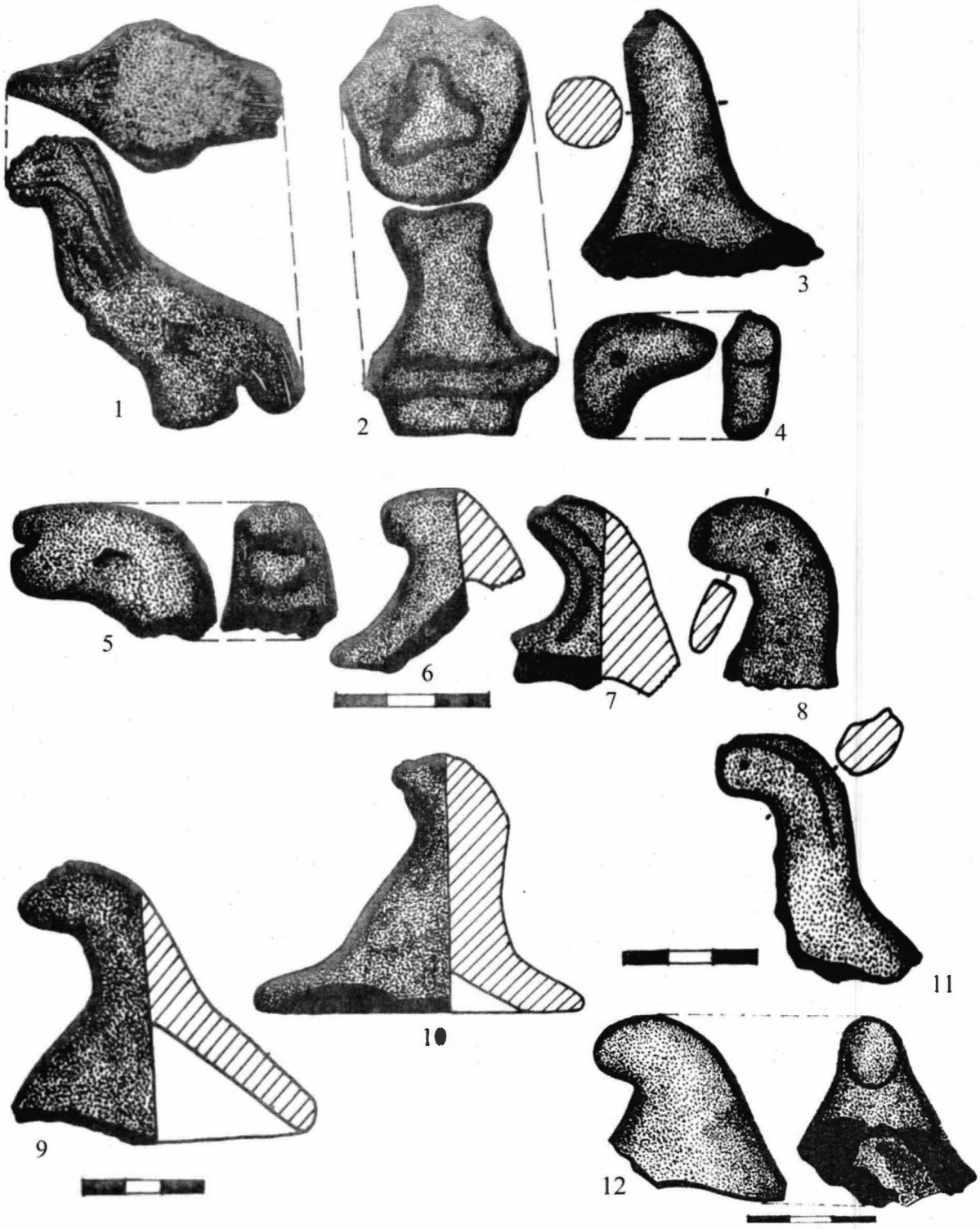

Fig. 8. Grădiştea, jud. Brăila. Figurină avimorfă (1) şi zoomorfă (2), „capace" cu reprezentări avimorfe (3-12) (după V. Sîrbu 1996).

Fig. 8. Grădiştea, Brăila county. Ornithomorphic (1) and zoomorphic figurine (2), "lids" with bird heads representations (3-12) (from V. Sîrbu 1996).

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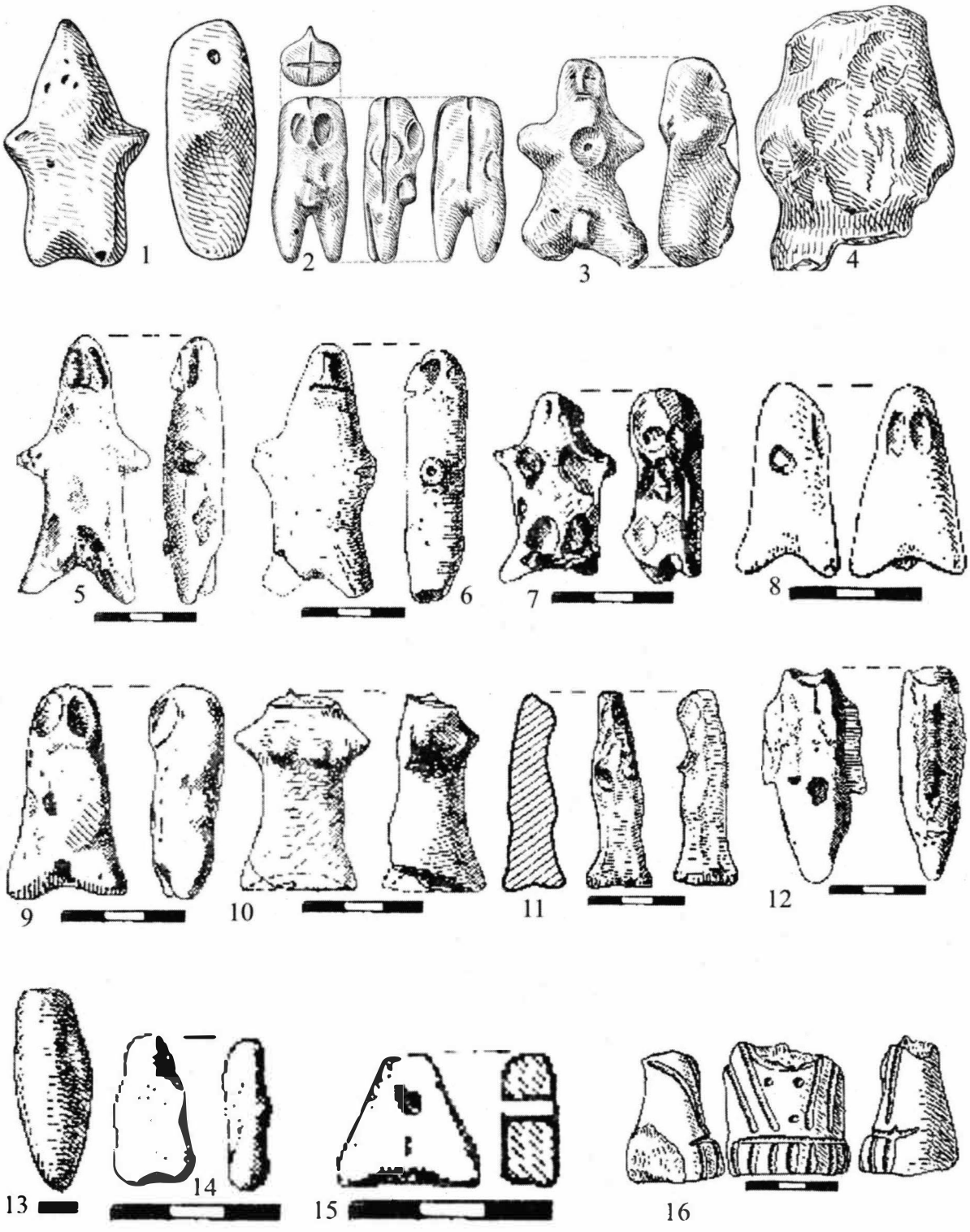

Fig. 9. Piscu Crăsani, jud. Ialomița. Figurine antropomorfe dacice (1-15) și figurină elenistică (16) (după N. Conovici 1974; 1994).

Fig. 9. Piscu Crăsani, Ialomița county. Dacian anthropomorphic figurines (1-15) and Hellenistic fragment (16) (from N. Conovici 1974; 1994).

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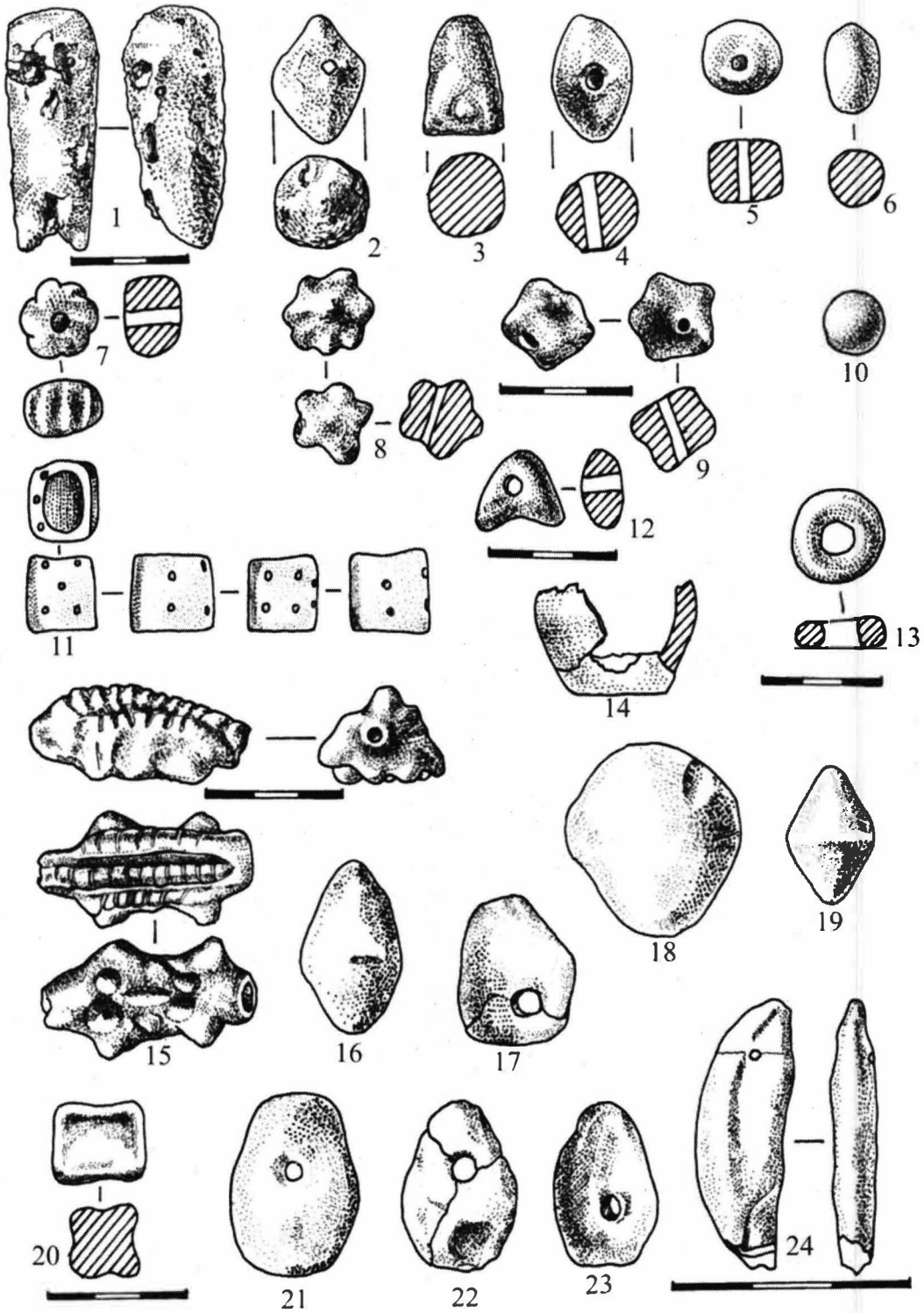

Fig. 10. Zimnicea – necropolă. Truse magice din mormintele C2M4 (1-14) şi C20M1 (15-24) (după A.D. Alexandrescu 1980).

Fig. 10. Zimnicea – necropolis. Magic kits from tombs C2M4 (1-14) and C20M1 (15-24) (from A.D. Alexandrescu 1980).

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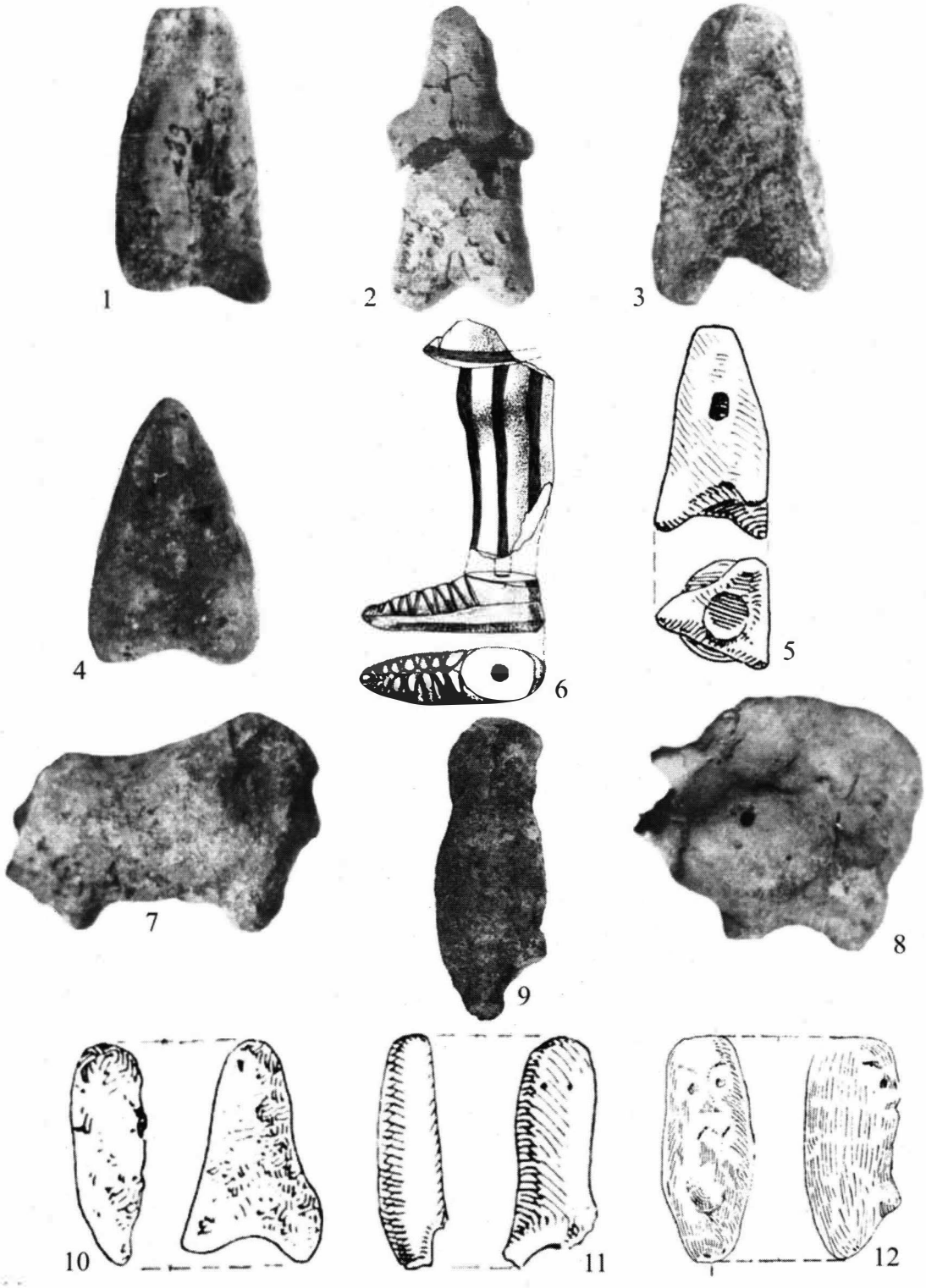

Fig. 11. Figurine antropomorfe (1-5, 8-12) şi zoomorfe (7-8), picior de statuetă antropomorfă (6). 1-6 Popeşti, 7-8 Bucureşti–*Cățelu Nou*, 9 Cătunu, 10-11 Tinosu, 12 Budurească (după M. Turcu 1979; R. Vulpe 1959; C. Stoica 1979; Fl. Preda, V. Dupoi 1979).

Fig. 11. Anthropomorphic (1-5, 8-12) and zoomorphic (7) figurines and anthropomorphic statuette (6). 1-6 Popeşti, 7-8 Bucharest–*Cățelu Nou*, 9 Cătunu, 10-11 Tinosu, 12 Budurească (from M. Turcu 1979; R. Vulpe 1959; C. Stoica 1979; Fl. Preda, V. Dupoi 1979).

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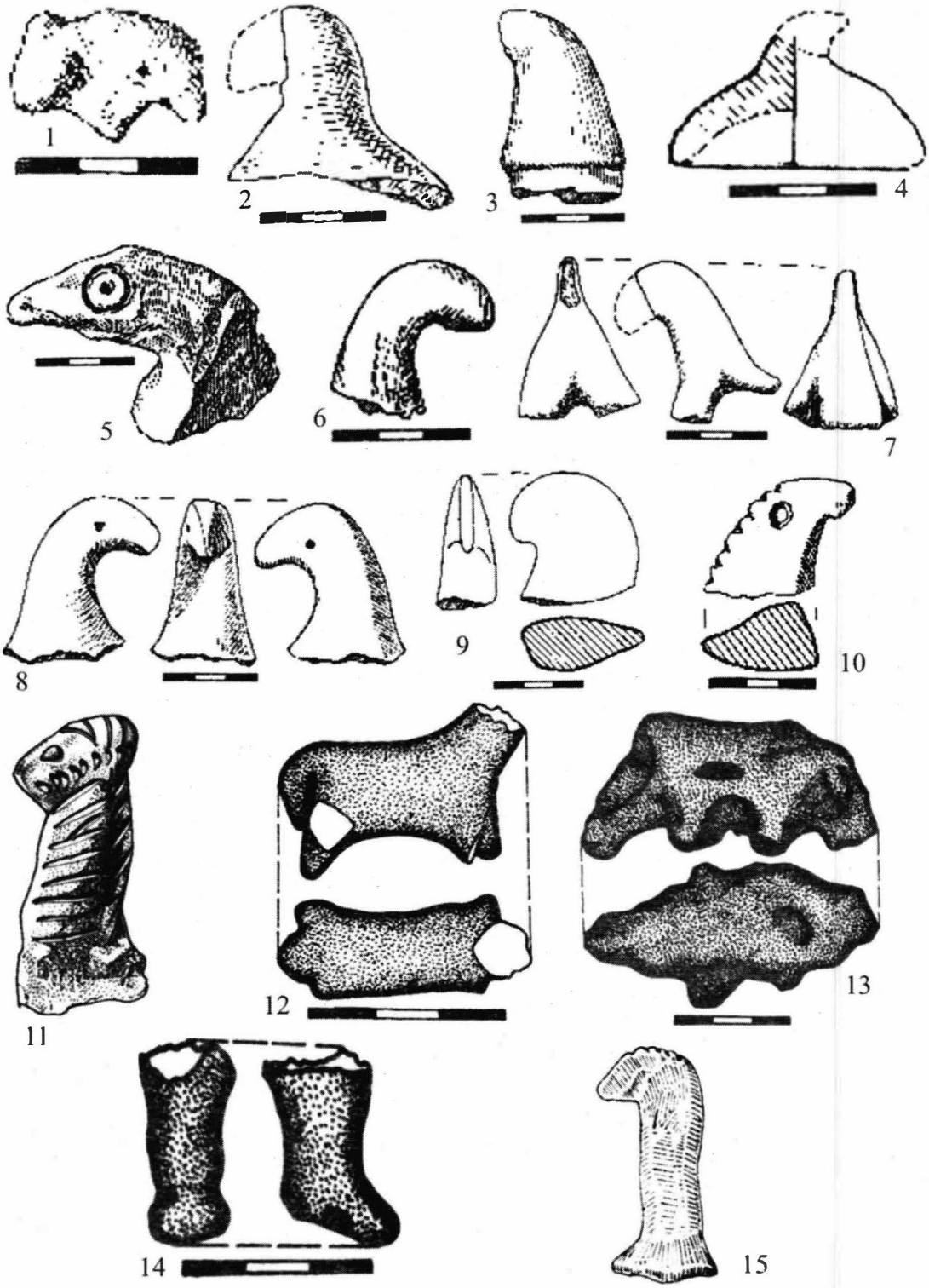

Fig. 12. Mânere avimorfe (2-11, 15), figurine zoomorfe (1, 12-13) şi picior de figurină antropomorfă (14). 1-10 Piscu Crăsani, 11 Bucureşti, 12 Greaca – *La Slom*, 13-14 Căscioarele – *Suharna*, 15 Bragadiru (după N. Conovici 1994; M. Turcu 1971; 1979; V. Sîrbu *et al.* 1996).

Fig. 12. Zoomorphic figurines (1,12-13), "lids" with bird heads representations (2-11, 15) and the leg of an anthropomorphic figurine (14). 1-10 Piscu Crăsani, 11 Bucharest, 12 Greaca – *La Slom*, 13-14 Căscioarele – *Suharna*, 15 Bragadiru (from N. Conovici 1994; M. Turcu 1971, 1979; V. Sîrbu *et al.* 1996).

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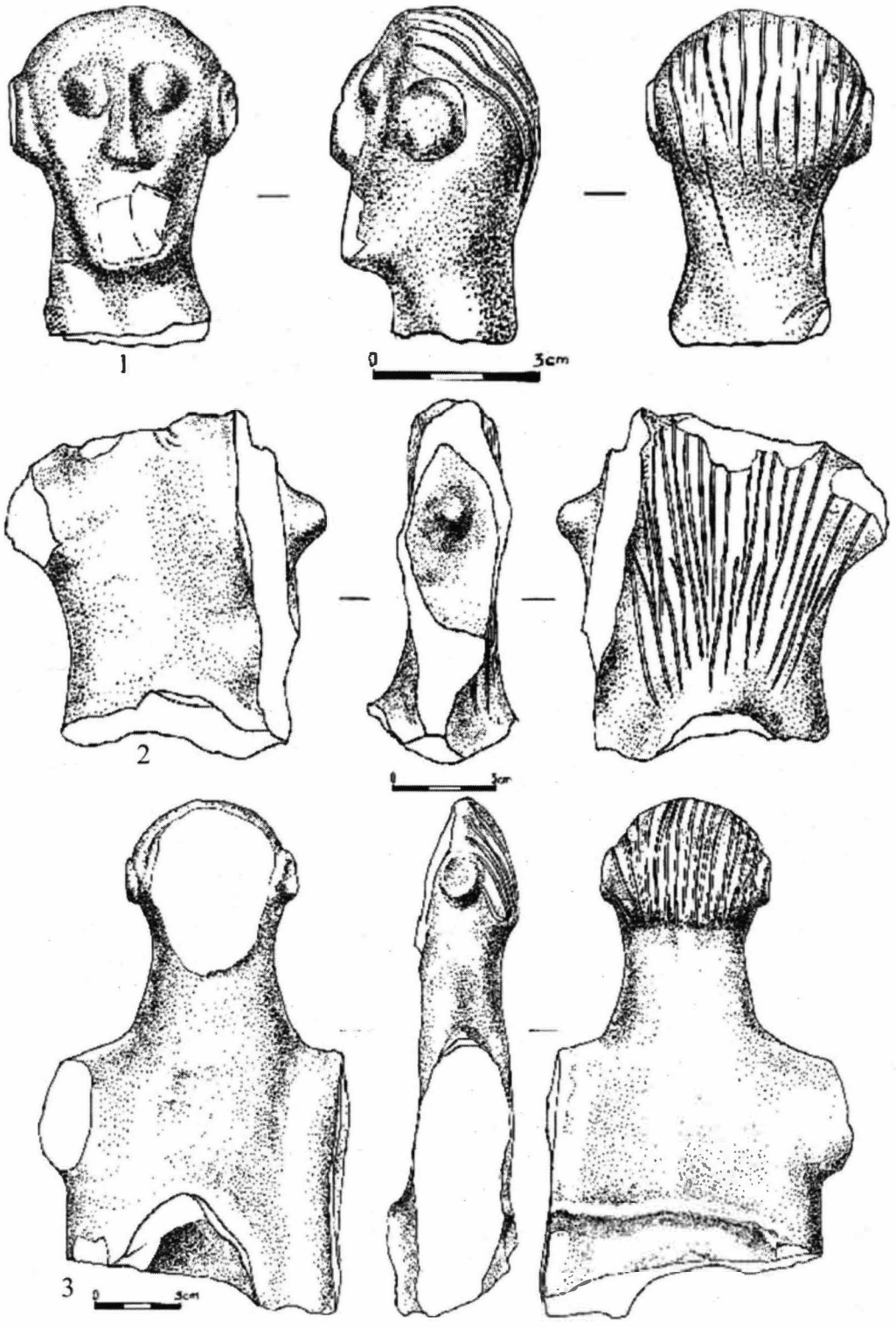

Fig. 13. Cârlomăneşti, jud. Buzău. Fragmente de statuete antropomorfe (săpături M. Babeş; după V. Sîrbu 2006).

Fig. 13. Cârlomăneşti, Buzău county. Fragments of human statuettes (excavations by M. Babeş; from V. Sîrbu 2006).

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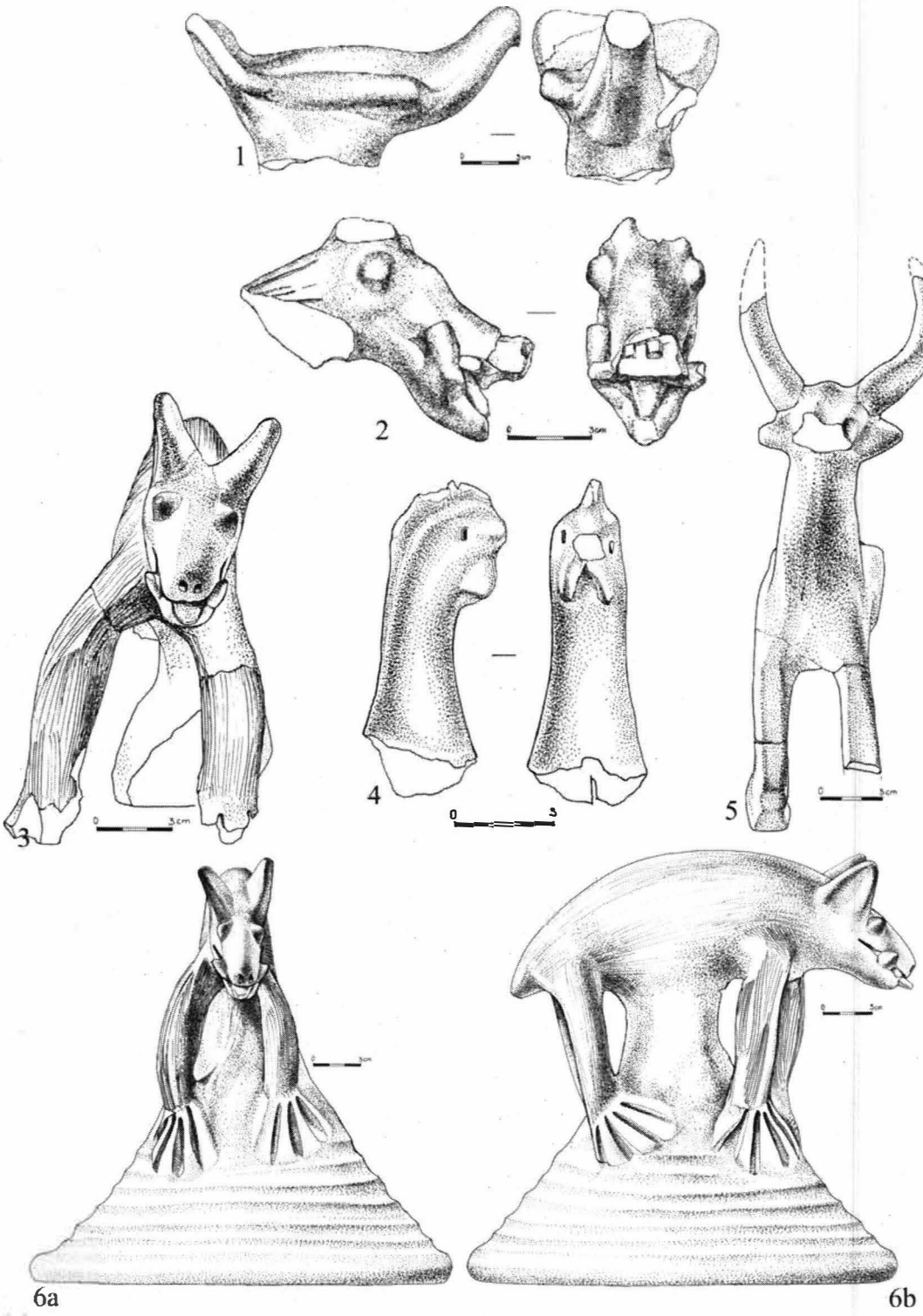

Fig. 14. Cârlomăneşti, jud. Buzău. Statuete zoomorfe (săpături M. Babeş; după V. Sîrbu 2006).

Fig. 14. Cârlomăneşti, Buzău county. Zoomorphic figurines (excavations of M. Babeş; from V. Sîrbu 2006).

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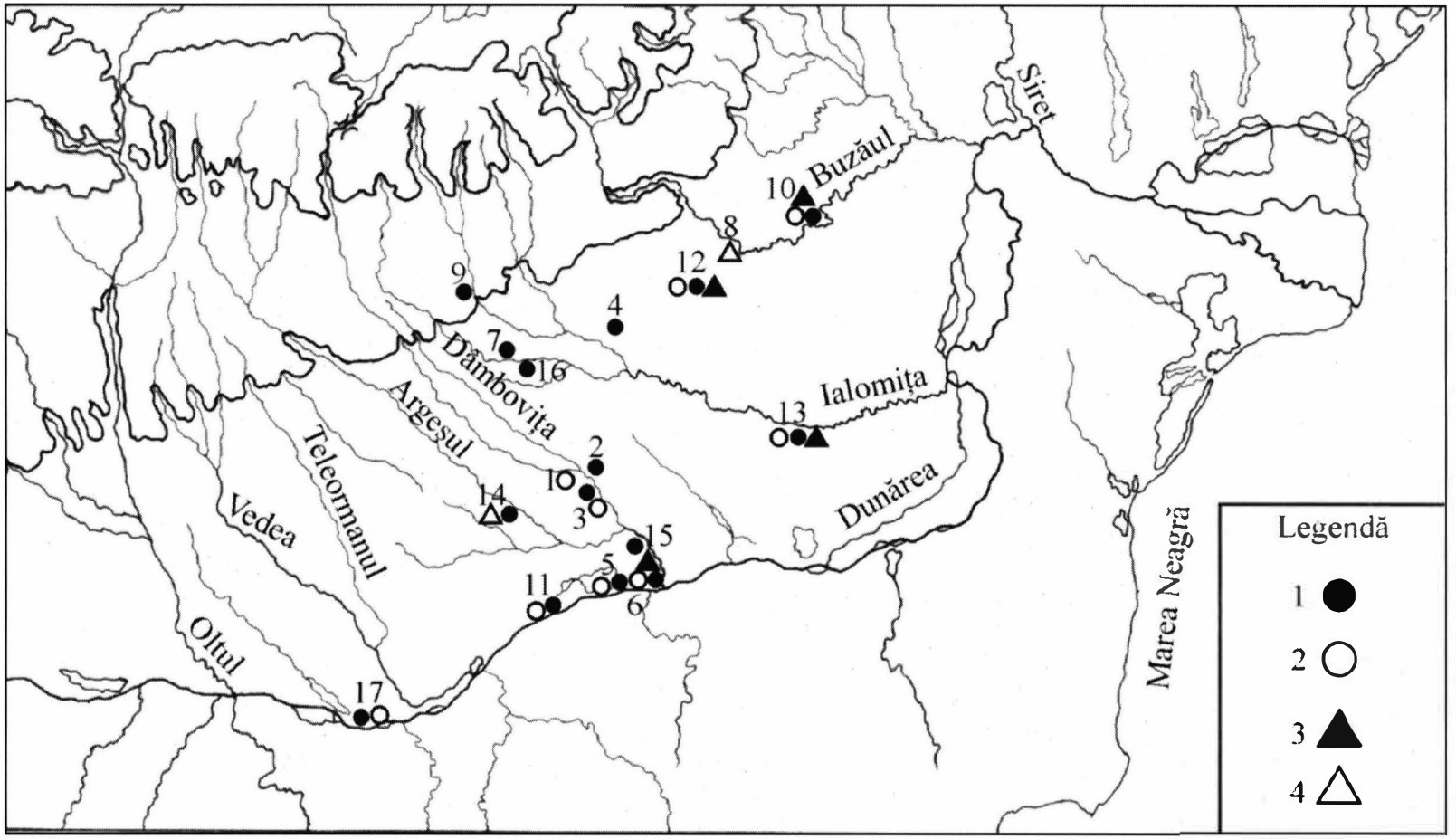

Fig. 15. Hartă. Figurine, statuete şi „capace" antropomorfe, zoomorfe şi avimorfe geto-dacice (sec. IV a. Chr.-I p. Chr.).

Legendă: 1. Figurine antropomorfe, 2. figurine zoomorfe, 3. „capace", 4. statuete.

Lista localităţilor: 1 Bucureşti, 2 Bucureşti–Bragadiru, 3 Bucureşti–Cățelu Nou, 4 Budurească, 5 Căscioarele–*Suharna*, 6 Căscioarele–*Şuvița Hotarului*, 7 Cătunu, 8 Cârlomăneşti, 9 Cetăţeni, 10 Grădiştea, 11 Greaca–*La Slom*, 12 Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării*, 13 Piscul Crăsani, 14 Popeşti, 15 Radovanu, 16 Tinosu, 17 Zimnicea.

Fig. 15. Map. Geto-Dacian anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and ornithomorphic figurines, statuettes and "lids" (4^{th} c. BC – 1^{st} c. AD).

Legend: 1. Anthropomorphic figurines, 2. zoomorphic figurines, 3. "lids", 4. statuettes.

List of locations: 1 Bucharest, 2 Bucharest–Bragadiru, 3 Bucharest–Cățelu Nou, 4 Budurească, 5 Căscioarele–*Suharna*, 6 Căscioarele–*Şuvița Hotarului*, 7 Cătunu, 8 Cârlomăneşti, 9 Cetăţeni, 10 Grădiştea, 11 Greaca–*La Slom*, 12 Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării*, 13 Piscul Crăsani, 14 Popeşti, 15 Radovanu, 16 Tinosu, 17 Zimnicea.

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Figurine zoomorfe

S-au descoperit două figurine, fragmentare, ce reprezintă, destul de realist, doi cai, modelaţi din argilă semifină, acoperită cu angobă; una din piese are pe frunte un fel de proeminenţă cu orificiu, iar pe ceealaltă se sugerează, prin incizii, căpăstrul.

„Capace" avimorfe

S-au identificat patru piese, întregi ori întregibile, de dimensiuni mici, care au terminaţiile mânerelor în formă de capete de păsări. Sec. II-I a. Chr.

Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, 27, Fig. 2/1-2, plus informaţii Done Şerbănescu şi Cristian Schuster.

TINOSUL (jud. Prahova)

Figurine antropomorfe

1. *Figurină* (Î=34 mm), modelată din argilă semifină, de formă conică, capul nediferenţiat de trunchi, picioarele redate prin proeminenţe conice, iar ochii prin incizii (Fig. 11/10).

2. *Figurină* (Î=30 mm) modelată din argilă semifină, de formă conică, corpul nediferenţiat de trunchi, nu se redau nici un fel de detalii anatomice ori ale feţei, cu excepţia ochilor, indicaţi prin incizii (Fig. 11/11).

3. *Cap uman* (Î=25 mm), modelat din argilă semifină, de formă aproape ovală, cu nasul redat în relief, cu gura larg deschisă, orificiu la bază.

Vulpe, Vulpe 1924, 209, Fig. 38/7, 41/4, 5.

ZIMNICEA (jud. Teleorman)

Figurină antropomorfă, descoperită într-un mormânt (C2M4) (Fig. 10/1).

Piesă (Î= 58mm) modelată neglijent din argilă comună, de formă aproape cilindrică, cu ochii şi nasul obţinuţi prin presarea lutului, plus incizii adânci, cu picioarele redate prin mici proeminenţe conice; în faţă, în zona sexului, prezintă o cavitate adâncă. Ea a făcut parte dintr-o adevărată trusă magică care a mai conţinut următoarele tipuri de artefacte: un zar, piese mici conice, biconice, rotunde, prismatice, alta circulară cu numeroase proeminenţe, o mărgică, un mic văscior (Fig. 10/2-14). Sec. IV-III a. Chr.

Alexandrescu 1980, 21, Fig. 55/1.

Figurină zoomorfă descoperită într-un mormânt de incineraţie (C20M1) (Fig. 10/15).

Piesă (L=48 mm) modelată grosolan, din argilă comună, dar unele detalii indică sugestiv că este vorba de o mistreaţă: corpul este prelung, coada şi picioarele au fost redate prin proeminenţe conice, pe spate are incizii adânci, ce indică şira spănării, iar ţâţele sunt indicate prin proeminenţe conice. Corpul pare a fi gol în interior; capul lipseşte.

Figurina a fost descoperită tot într-o trusă magică, împreună cu patru mici piese de formă tronconică, cu orificii, trei piese bitronconice, neperforate, o piesă cubică, toate din lut, plus un canin perforat (Fig. 10/16-24). Sec. IV-III a. Chr.

Alexandrescu 1980, 41, Fig. 57/1-10.

ANALIZA DESCOPERIRILOR

Ne vom referi, succint, la principalele caracteristici morfologice ale pieselor şi contextele în care ele au fost descoperite, la cronologia şi aria lor de răspândire, iar în final vom încerca să evidenţiem valenţele lor cultuale.

FIGURINE ANTROPOMORFE

Număr şi arie de răspândire. În total, după informaţiile pe care le deţinem, s-au descoperit circa 70 de reprezentări antropomorfe, în 15 situri; acolo unde s-au efectuat săpături mai intense, este vorba de situri importante, numărul figurinelor este destul de ridicat, aşa cum este cazul la Grădiştea (12 ex.), Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării* (10 ex.), Piscu Crăsani (14 ex.), Popeşti (15-18 ex.); rezultă, deci, că asemenea reprezentări erau destul de comune în siturile dacice.

Dacă privim harta cu răspândirea exemplarelor (Fig. 15) se poate constata că ele provin din toată aria pe care o studiem acum; diferenţele privind numărul exemplarelor cunoscute, între anumite zone, apreciem că provin doar din amploarea sau lipsa săpăturilor arheologice din aceste locuri.

La geto-daci, din a doua epocă a fierului, se cunosc aproape 400 de figurine antropomorfe din aproape 100 de situri şi peste 100 de figurine zoomorfe din peste 40 de situri[11]. Se poate constata, deci, că numărul

[11] Sîrbu 1993$_1$, 58-62; 2006, 68-71.

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pieselor din aria analizată, dacă avem în vedere întinderea ei, se încadrează în zonele cu densitate mare de figurine antropomorfe şi zoomorfe, aşa cum sunt Moldova[12] sau Oltenia[13], pe când în Transilvania şi vestul ţării[14] numărul exemplarelor este mai redus.

Modelare şi morfologie. Cu excepţia unei piese de la Bucureşti-Bragadiru, obţinută din rotula unui cal, toate celelalte exemplare sunt din lut. Piesele sunt din argilă comună ori semifină, cu nisip, mică, cioburi pisate ori vegetale. Modelarea s-a făcut, de regulă, dintr-o singură bucată de argilă, diferitele părţi anatomice, atunci când ele sunt evidenţiate, au rezultat din presarea sau tragerea lutului din acest bulgăre; arderea oxidantă este preponderentă.

În marea majoritate a cazurilor modelarea a fost destul de neglijentă dar faptul acesta nu decurge din nepriceperea modelatorilor, ci din scopul pentru care ele au fost produse, observându-se doar tendinţa de a respecta anumite "canoane". Aproape toate piesele au fost redate în picioare, frontal, neobservându-se vreo tendinţă de a reflecta, cu câteva excepţii, vârsta sau anumite atitudini. Doar rareori sunt redate toate părţile corpului şi se respectă proporţiile dintre ele. De regulă, înălţimea pieselor este între 5-7 cm, exemplarele de peste 10 cm fiind rare, dimensiuni caracteristice exemplarelor din toată aria tracicilor de nord[15]. Detaliile feţei sau ale corpului, atunci când şi atâtea câte s-au evidenţiat, sunt redate prin incizii sau presarea lutului cu vârful degetelor. De semnalat faptul că în trei cazuri (două la Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării* şi unul la Bucureşti–*Căţelu Nou*) s-au redat numai capete umane, fie conform principiului «*pars pro toto*», fie că se doreau efecte doar asupra acestei părţi a corpului uman.

Se constată o mare varietate tipologică, dar diferenţele dintre piese nu reflectă, după opinia noastră, etape cronologice ci, mai degrabă, îndemnarea modelatorului ori scopul pentru care s-au făcut[16].

O mare parte dinte figurine au orificii, canale, cavităţi, împunsături care, în mod evident, nu indică detalii anatomice, nu reprezintă elemente de decor şi nici nu au un scop utilitar. Aceste intervenţii asupra figurinelor, încă din momentul modelării lor, sunt o trăsătură tipică pentru figurinele tracice din epoca fierului[17], fenomenul indicând valenţe cultuale.

Tipuri de situri şi de contexte arheologice. În privinţa tipurilor de situri, situaţia este următoarea: 53-55 ex. provin din aşezări, 10 ex. din incinta sacră de la Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării* şi 2 ex. din morminte – Budureasca şi Zimnicea; de menţionat că piesele din morminte datează din sec. IV-III a. Chr., iar cele din aşezări din sec. II-I a. Chr., cu excepţia piesei de la Căscioarele–*Şuviţa Hotarului*, care este din sec. IV-III a. Chr., pe când cele de la Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării* sunt din sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr.

În privinţa tipurilor de complexe, în cazul aşezărilor marea majoritate a pieselor provine din bordeie, locuinţe de suprafaţă ori gropi (vezi, *Catalogul descoperirilor*); se remarcă, în acest sens, Bordeiul nr. 17 de la Grădiştea[18], unde s-au descoperit patru figurine antropomorfe, un mâner avimorf de capac, vase în miniatură şi alte piese din lut care au format o adevărată trusă magică (Fig. 7).

O problemă aflată în discuţie este aceea dacă s-au găsit figurine zoomorfe sau antropomorfe în temple; nu există, după opinia noastră, nici o situaţie certă în acest sens, cazurile menţionate fiind incerte. La Piscu Crăsani s-au găsit două figurine în aşa-numita «zonă sacră», una în strat şi alta într-o groapă aflată sub o încăpere[19], deci nu într-un templu; de asemenea, la Popeşti, o posibilă reprezentare antropomorfă s-a găsit în zona palatului[20], nu în templele identificate aici.

De altfel, e sugestiv faptul că în nici unul din cele peste 50 de temple dacice cunoscute nu s-au descoperit figurine antropomorfe ori zoomorfe, dar subiectul acesta va fi dezvoltat mai târziu; mai mult, asemenea piese n-au apărut în toată zona Munţilor Orăştiei[21], centrul politic, militar şi religios al dacilor.

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[12] Sîrbu 1993_1, 110-122, harta 6.
[13] Sîrbu 1993_1, 60, 110-122, harta 6.
[14] Sîrbu 1993_1, 60, 110-122, harta 6.
[15] Sîrbu 1993_1, 59.
[16] Sîrbu 1987_1, 110; 1993_1, 60.
[17] Sîrbu 1993_1, 59.
[18] Sîrbu 2004, 85, fig. 7.
[19] Conovici 1994, 70, fig. 4/14-15.
[20] Vulpe 1959_2, 313-314, fig. 12/9.
[21] Sîrbu 1993_1, 60.

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Sexul. Sexul masculin este indicat fie printr-o proeminenţă în locul respectiv, fie prin anumite trăsături ale feţei (ex., barbă). Sexul feminin este reprezentat fie prin sâni, printr-un orificiu în locul corespunzător ori prin rochie. Însă, la cea mai mare parte dintre figurine sexul nu este indicat, iar acest fapt poate avea mai multe explicaţii ce vor fi analizate spre finalul studiului. Neindicarea sexului pentru majoritatea figurinelor este o trăsătură caracteristică pentru întreg spaţiul locuit de traci[22].

FIGURINE ZOOMORFE

Număr şi arie de răspândire. Se cunosc doar 19-21 de figurine, ceea ce reprezintă un număr redus de exemplare, dacă avem în vedere că ele provin din 10 situri: Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării* (6 ex.), Grădiştea (2 ex.), Piscu Crăsani (3 ex.), Radovanu (2 ex.), eventual Tinosu (2 ex.), în rest fiind vorba de câte o singură piesă. Întrucât ele provin cam din aceleaşi situri cu figurinele antropomorfe putem aprecia că numărul mai mic de exemplare, faţă de piesele antropomorfe, reflectă o realitate istorică şi nu doar un stadiu al cercetării.

Aria lor de răspândire este similară cu a figurinelor antropomorfe, ele «acoperind» aproape toată zona avută în vedere.

Modelare şi morfologie. Şi în cazul figurinelor zoomorfe se pot observa caracteristici similare cu cele antropomorfe: argilă comună semifină ori fină, deseori cu nisip, cioburi pisate, mică ori vegetale, modelare dintr-un singur bulgăre de lut, acoperire cu angobă, dimensiuni mici, între 3-7 cm, ardere, în majoritate, oxidantă. Deşi nu se observă preocupări speciale în privinţa valenţelor artistice se constată, uneori, grija de a se respecta proporţiile diverselor părţi anatomice sau de a se sugera specia ori sexul; detaliile anatomice sunt redate, câteodată, prin alveole, incizii ori bobiţe.

Tipuri de situri şi de contexte arheologice. Majoritatea pieselor s-au găsit în aşezări (12/14 ex.), apoi în incinta sacră de la Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării* (6 ex.) şi într-un mormânt de la Zimnicea (1 ex.); de asemenea, majoritatea exemplarelor din aşezări s-au aflat în locuinţe ori gropi. E de remarcat şi faptul că nici un exemplar n-a fost găsit în temple.

Specii de animale. Uneori, datorită modelării îngrijite şi intenţiei modelatorului se pot identifica speciile de animale. Cel mai des reprezentat animal este taurul (Bucureşti–*Căţelu Nou*, Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării*), apoi calul (Radovanu), ursul (Piscu Crăsani), o scroafă sălbatică (*sus scrofa*) (Zimnicea), ovicaprine (Greaca–*Slom,* Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării*), eventual o ţestoasă (Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării)*; după cum se constată e vorba de animale domestice şi sălbatice tipice zonei locuite de geto-daci. Sexul animalelor este rareori reprezentat, ca la Zimnicea, dar alteori el pare a fi sugerat de anumite părţi anatomice (ex., coarnele).

MÂNERE CU TERMINAŢII ORNITOMORFE SAU ZOOMORFE

O altă categorie de piese cu probabile semnificaţii cultuale[23] este reprezentată de „capacele" cu mânerul terminat în forma unor capete de păsări şi, mai rar, de mamifere. Sunt piese caracteristice geto-dacilor de la sud de Carpaţi, deşi există descoperiri şi din alte zone. După formă, dimensiuni şi terminaţia bazei marea majoritate a pieselor nu erau potrivite să fie utilizate drept capace. Cu trei excepţii (Pietroasa Mică, Piscu Crăsani, Popeşti), toate celelalte exemplare cunoscute au fost modelate cu mâna. Aproape în totalitate terminaţiile lor reprezintă capete de păsări, iar acolo unde ele sunt realiste s-a constatat că este vorba, îndeosebi, de vulturi; alte câteva piese redau capete de mamifere, posibil ovicaprine sau câini, dar e greu de identificat cu precizie (Fig. 5/I, 6; 8/2). În plus, există şi piese cu terminaţii avimorfe, în special de vulturi ori şoimi care, în nici caz, nu puteau fi capace, aşa cum sunt piesele de la Gâlmele[24] sau Sprâncenata[25], ca să nu mai vorbim de statuetele de la Cârlomăneşti, ultimele aşezate pe suporturi conice similare, dar de dimensiuni

[22] Sîrbu 1993$_1$, 59, anexa 23.

[23] Conovici 1994, 63; Sîrbu 1995, 188.

[24] *Die Daker* 1980, nr. cat. 391.

[25] Preda 1986, 57, fig. XXVII/3-6.

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mult mai mari şi cu reale valenţe artistice[26] (Fig. 14). Astfel de piese s-au descoperit în toate aşezările dacice unde s-au întreprins săpături intense, numărul pieselor fiind, după opinia noastră, mult mai mare decât informaţiile pe care le deţinem (34 ex.): de ex., cunoaştem de la Grădiştea – 11 ex., de la Piscu Crăsani (8 ex.), de la Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării* (7 ex.), iar de la Radovanu minimum 4 ex.; nu avem informaţii despre numărul lor din unele situri importante, cum ar fi, de ex., Popeşti, de unde s-a publicat un singur exemplar[27], pe când la Bordușani, deşi materialul a fost exhaustiv publicat, s-a identificat un singur exemplar[28].

CONSIDERAŢII FINALE

Încă de la început este necesar să facem o distincţie clară între figurinele antropomorfe şi zoomorfe prezentate în catalogul descoperirilor şi statuetele antropomorfe şi zoomorfe de la Cârlomăneşti, plus statueta antropomorfă de la Popeşti, întrucât diferenţele dintre ele constă nu numai în dimensiuni şi valenţe artistice, ci şi în tipurile de complexe în care au fost descoperite şi în semnificaţii. De asemenea, vom discuta şi reprezentările de animale aflate pe terminaţiile unor suporturi conice, deseori considerate capace de vase.

Întrucât asemenea probleme au mai fost abordate, de alţi cercetători[29] ori de mine însumi[30], vom reaminti doar concluziile esenţiale, cu nuaţări privitoare la zona Munteniei.

Figurinele antropomorfe şi zoomorfe. În depistarea semnificaţiilor acestor piese este necesar să avem în vedere toate categoriile de informaţii pe care le avem la dispoziţie: tipurile de situri şi de complexe în care au fost descoperite, asocierea sau nu cu alte categorii de artefacte, morfologia şi starea lor de conservare, prezenţa sau absenţa unor canale, orificii, cavităţi, împunsături.

În ceea ce priveşte originea figurinelor antropomorfe ori zoomorfe avem toate motivele să conchidem că ele continuă tradiţia pieselor din prima epocă a fierului întrucât, tipologic şi morfologic, marea majoritate dintre ele sunt similare, remarcându-se deosebiri morfologice şi decorative doar faţă exemplarele din aria culturii Gava[31].

Încă de la început trebuie evidenţiate câteva caracteristici esenţiale.

În primul rând, niciodată nu s-au descoperit figurine antropomorfe ori zoomorfe şi nici „truse magice"[32] în templele dacilor, fenomen ce nu mai poate fi pus pe seama întâmplării; mai mult, asemenea piese nu s-au descoperit, încă, în zona Sarmizegetusa Regia[33], centrul religios al dacilor.

În al doilea rînd, pe cel puţin o treime din piese se observă, încă din momentul modelării, intervenţii de „maltratare", aşa cum sunt canalele, cavităţile, orificiile, împunsăturile, plus distrugeri ale pieselor care nu pot fi puse pe seama manipulării ori a unor consecinţe ulterioare (de ex., ele au fost găsite în vase ori în morminte)[34]. Aceste intervenţii asupra pieselor nu reprezintă, în mod evident, anumite detalii anatomice şi nici elemente de decor.

În al treilea rând, este evidentă lipsa aproape generală de valenţe artistice la aceste piese[35].

În al patrulea rând, este de evidenţiat faptul că nu s-au descoperit împreună, adică în acelaşi context, figurine antropomorfe şi zoomorfe.

Cel puţin din aceste considerente apreciem că figurinele antropomorfe şi zoomorfe geto-dacice n-au fost utilizate în cadrul religiei, ci al practicilor magice şi vrăjitoreşti.

Faptul că nu s-au descoperit figurine antropomorfe şi zoomorfe în templele dacilor indică faptul că, cel puţin din sec. I a. Chr.-I p. Chr., cele domenii ale sacrului – religia şi magia/vrăjitoria – erau clar delimitate întrucât aşa reflectă descoperirile arheologice[36].

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[26] Babeş 1977, 319-352.
[27] Vulpe 1959_2, 313, fig. 9/4.
[28] Trohani 2006, 65, pl.168/170.
[29] Sanie 1981, 174-195; 1995, 54-86; Preda, Dupoi 1979, 77-88; Babeş 1977, 319-352; Palincaş 1995, 93-104.
[30] Sîrbu 1987_1, 91-157; 1993_1, 68-69; 1993_2, 129-175.
[31] Vasiliev 1985-1986, 79-90; Lászlo 1995, 85-97; Sîrbu 1987, 91-94, 108; 1999, 153-179; Maleev 1992, 13-24.
[32] Sîrbu 1993_1, 68-69; 1993_2, 129-175.
[33] Sîrbu 1993_1, 60; Glodariu *et al.* 1996.
[34] Sîrbu 1993_1, 66.
[35] Sîrbu 1993_1, 58; 1999, 153-179.
[36] Sîrbu 1993_1, 70.

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Operaţiunile de „maltratare" ale piesclor, obscrvate doar pe figurinele antropomorfe, se datorează principiului „similitudinii magice", conform căruia dacă se străpunge ochiul, capul, stomacul unei piese, persoana vizată în ritual va sufcri accleaşi efecte, adică va orbi, va avea dureri de cap ori de stomac; dacă se doreşte moartea persoanci, atunci figurina trebuie străpunsă total, adică din cap până în picioare[37]. Toate aceste operaţiuni se încadrează în practicile de „magie neagră".

Este evident că asemnea operaţiuni nu puteau fi întreprinse asupra figurinelor dacă acestea ar fi reprezentat divinităţi întrucât asta ar fi însemnat „maltratarea" propriilor zei încă din momentul modelării lor.

Alteori anumite acte magice sunt mult mai clar evidenţiate, aşa cum este cazul celor 28 de figurine, 25 feminine, toate cu mâinile legate la spate, şi 3 masculine, cu trăsăturile bine marcate, descoperite în două amfore fragmentare la Poiana[38].

Lipsa valenţelor artistice a acestor piese se explică prin scopul pentru care ele au fost modelate: întrucât practicile malefice se desfăşoară, de regulă, în secret, departe de privirile celor vizaţi, e normal ca modelatorii să nu fie preocupaţi de estetica figurinelor antropomorfe.

Faptul că pe figurinele zoomorfe nu se observă maltratări se explică prin destinaţia acestor piese; deoarece s-au modelat, de obicei, animale domestice ritualurile se desfăşurau în cadrul aşa-numitei „magii albe", adică se urmăreau scopuri benefice, cum ar fi mărirea şeptelului, sănătatea animalelor, producţii mai mari etc.

Întrucât extrem de puţine figurine prezintă orificii, care să facă posibilă purtarea pieselor, rezultă că rolul lor apotropaic era redus.

Cine erau beneficiarii? Dacă avem în vedere contextele arheologice în care s-au descoperit, morfologia pieselor şi scopul modelării lor, putem conchide că populaţia de rând – adică agricultorii şi crescătorii de animale – erau beneficiarii practicilor magice. Aceştia erau interesaţi, în primul rând, în fertilitatea pământului şi fecunditatea animalelor. Este adevărat şi faptul că în unele morminte regale tracice (de ex., mormântul nr. 2 de la Vraţa[39]) s-au descoperit adevărate truse magice, inclusiv cu figurine antropomorfe, deci semnificaţia lor aici ar putea fi protecţia acestor personaje de rang înalt.

Descoperirea unor figurine în locuinţe, de obicei în apropierea vetrelor, poate sugera anumite ritualuri legate de cultul focului, de protecţia şi prosperitatea familiei.

Dacă, şi în ce măsură, figurinele antropomorfe s-au folosit pentru ritualuri de fecunditate este greu de documentat: nu se evidenţiază zonele respective (ex. bazinul, sânii), nu sunt modelate femei-mame, peste jumătate din piese nu au sexul indicat etc. Doar fragmentul de penis descoperit la Greaca–*La Slom* ar putea indica o asemenea eventualitate.

Figurinele antropomorfe şi zoomorfe, din diverse materiale, sunt tipice multor civilizaţii, din Egipt şi Orientul Apropiat până în Grecia şi Roma[40]. Pe baza inscripţiilor de pe figurine sau de pe tăbliţe ori a informaţiilor autorilor antici s-au putut identifica multe din semnificaţiile acestor piese[41].

Desigur, întrucât pentru geto-daci lipsesc orice fel de informaţii scrise ori reprezentări iconografice referitoare la utilizarea şi semnificaţia figurinelor trebuie să fim prudenţi în interpretarea lor, dar o serie de consideraţii se pot emite şi pe baza informaţiilor oferite de descoperirile arheologice.

„Capacele" cu terminaţii avimorfe sau zoomorfe. Este destul de dificil de identificat semnificaţiile unor asemenea piese întrucât doar rareori s-au publicat contextele în care ele au fost descoperite ori asocierea lor cu alte categorii de artefacte cu valenţe cultuale; la Grădiştea, de exemplu, o astfel de piesă a fost descoperită împreună cu figurine antropomorfe (Bordeiul 17). Deocamdată, nu s-au publicat asemenea piese din temple ori morminte. Se evidenţiază prezenţa lor în incinta sacră de la Pietroasa Mică–*Gruiu Dării* (7 ex), dar nu împreună cu figurine antropomorfe ori zoomorfe.

Aproape în totalitate terminaţiile mânerelor sunt în formă de capete de păsări, iar atunci când ele au fost realist modelate se pot identifica păsări de pradă (vulturi ori şoimi), păsări cu semnificaţii profunde în religia multor popoare, înclusiv a geto-dacilor[42].

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[37] Sîrbu 1993$_1$, 66.

[38] Vulpe 1931, 257-262, fig. 1-8.

[39] Torbov 2005.

[40] Faraone 1991, 165-205, fig. 1-13.

[41] Faraone 1991, 165-205; Palincaş 1995, 96-102.

[42] Sanie 1995, 149-150; Glodariu, Moga 1994, 36, 43, fig. 5-6; Sîrbu, Florea 2000$_1$, 138, 175-177.

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Dacă avem în vedere forma, mărimea, lipsa valențelor artistice, la marea majoritate a pieselor, și faptul că reprezintă, aproape în totalitate, capete de păsări, apoi tipurile de situri (așezări, incinte sacre) și contextele în care au fost descoperite (locuințe, gropi, strat, depuneri votive) putem aprecia că ele au fost utilizate în cadrul unor ritualuri familiale, poate cu valențe magice. S-au găsit, cu excepția mormintelor, în aceleași tipuri de situri și de complexe ca și figurinele antropomorfe și zoomorfe dar, cu o excepție (Grădiștea – Bordeiul 17), niciodată în aceleași complexe cu acestea.

STATUETELE ANTROPOMORFE ȘI ZOOMORFE

Cârlomănești (jud. Buzău)[43]. O prima problemă o constituie tipul de sit descoperit aici și aria pe care el se extinde. Până în ultimii ani cercetările sistematice s-au desfășurat doar pe *Cetățuie* unde nu s-au descoperit, până în prezent, bordeie ori locuințe de suprafață *in situ*, ci doar edificii de cult, unele cu o plastică unică, apoi altare decorate și vetre izolate, plus numeroase gropi. Se remarcă abundența unor categorii de artefacte (ex. vase ceramice, piese de port, monede), raritatea altora (sunt rarisime uneltele și ustensilele din metale) și lipsa figurinelor antropomorfe și zoomorfe. Prin aceste caracteristici descoperirile de aici se deosebesc esențial de cele din importante așezări dacice (*davae*) cunoscute până acum, unde s-au găsit numeroase bordeie și locuințe de suprafață, iar edificiile de cult sunt puține și se concentrează într-o anumită zonă, așa cum este cazul, de exemplu, la Brad[44], Popești[45] și Pecica[46].

După opinia noastră se poate vorbi de o *dava* aici doar dacă se iau în considerare și descoperirile de pe terasele din jur, unde săpăturile recente par a atesta o locuire intensă, iar *Cetățuia* a reprezentat, în acest caz, centrul de cult, eventual și politic, al acestor comunități. Chiar descoperirea unor spații de locuit *in situ* pe *Cetățuie* nu poate schimba, după opinia noastră, caracterul esențial de centru de cult al acestei zone. Varietatea edificiilor de cult (trei sunt rectangulare, din care două cu altare decorate, plus două absidate), descoperite în zone diferite, prezența statuetelor numai în unele edificii, plus alte altare decorate, sugerează credințe și ritualuri dedicate mai multor divinități. Desigur, doar după publicarea monografică a descoperirilor de aici, cu planuri generale și de ansamblu, cu prezentarea pe complexe a inventarului, se vor putea emite concluzii definitive.

Unul din temple, cu o suprafață de cca. 100 m^2, de formă rectangulară, cu pereți din lemn lutuiți, distrus în urma unui puternic incendiu, avea patru vetre în interior, din care două erau ornamentate. Sub pereții prăbușiți s-au găsit fragmente de statuete zoomorfe, greutăți piramidale din lut, fusaiole, râșniță, multe fragmente de vase, obiecte din metal, trei monede dacice de tip Vârteju-Bucureşti etc. Lângă edificiu s-a aflat Groapa 22 (A=2 m), cu pereții și fundul lipiți cu loess, în umplutura căreia, între două straturi de cenușă și cărbune, pe lângă alte materiale, s-au găsit două statuete aproape întregi și peste 130 de fragmente de statuete zoomorfe, plus un bust de bărbat

Un alt templu, de circa 20×10 m, situat în apropiere, avea temelii din piatră, era format dintr-o hală rectangulară și o cameră absidată, orientată NV, cu trei rânduri de stâlpi, cu posibili pereți din lemn, probabil nelutuiți, întrucât nu s-au descoperit nici urme de incendiu și nici lut galben. În interior, îndeosebi în partea sudică, erau multe fragmente de statuete zoomorfe, o cantitate mare de fragmente de vase ceramice, piese din metal, între care două fibule, și monede de tip Vârteju-Bucureşti[47]. Lângă el era Groapa 65, imensă (A=4 m, D=3,40 m), în care s-au aflat multe fragmente de vase, oase de animale, cărbuni, cenușă, lipitură arsă de pereți și doar trei fragmente de statuete zoomorfe, dar și un cap de statuetă de bărbat.

Un al treilea templu (D=11,40 m × 7,60 m), situat în altă zonă, era format dintr-o navă rectangulară și o absidă orientată VNV, marcate de un mic șanț umplut cu *loess*, cu o vatră în interior. Descoperirea, sub ultimul templu, a altor două edificii rectangulare de cult denotă utilizarea acestui spațiu pentru temple și depuneri rituale pe parcursul sec. I a. Chr[48].

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[43] Babeș 1975, 125-139; 1977, 330-343; Babeș *et al*. 2002, 98-99; 2003, 81-82, pl. 34; 2004, 76-77, pl. 17; 2005, 107-109; 2006, 124-126, planșa 21; 2007, 117-120, pl. 24; 2008, 94-97; Gugiu 2004, 249-251.

[44] Ursachi 1995.

[45] Vulpe 1960, 308-316; 1961, 321-328; 1966, 32-33; Vulpe, Gheorghiță 1979, 95-104.

[46] Crișan 1978, 106-108.

[47] Babeș 1977, 341.

[48] Babeș *et al*. 2006, 125-126.

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Trebuie menţionat că în aceste ultime edificii nu s-au mai găsit statuete.

Statuetele zoomorfe, aproape în totalitate găsite în primele două edificii şi în gropile de lângă ele, reprezintă, prin număr, dimensiuni şi varietate, un *unicum* în plastica geto-dacilor, întrucât asemenea piese nu s-au mai descoperit nicăieri. Este vorba de câteva sute de fragmente, de la minimum 100 de piese, cu înălţimi şi diametre cuprinse între 20-30 cm, ce reprezintă lupi, mistreţi, cerbi cocoşi de munte şi păsări de apă, toate animale sălbatice specifice zonei ori în migraţie prin ea[49] (Fig. 14); de evidenţiat şi modelarea unor animale compozite (de ex., cerbul cu coarne de taur). Aceste statuete au fost ataşate unor suporturi circulare la bază (D. maxim=20-22 cm) şi tronconice în elevaţie (Î=circa 20 cm).

De asemenea, s-au descoperit fragmente de bărbaţi şi de cai fapt ce indică reprezentarea unor cavaleri cu scut în mâna stângă[50] (Fig. 13/2-3).

După formă, aceste statuete cu suporturi au fost expuse în temple, probabil pe polițe; după dezafectarea acestora statuetele au fost depuse în cele două gropi, probabil pentru a nu fi profanate.

Este singurul caz cunoscut din spaţiul geto-dacic în care s-au găsit statuete zoomorfe şi reprezentări de cavaleri în edificii publice de cult. După opinia noastră, statuetele zoomorfe sunt *ex-voto* pentru anumite divinităţi, iar statuetele de cavaleri documentează perpetuarea cultului acestora, motiv cu rădăcini adânci în arta geto-dacilor[51].

Este de evidenţiat descoperirea altor altare decorate din lut (*escharai*), presupuse a fi izolate, sub cerul liber, dar, după opinia noastră, este puţin probabilă aceeastă situaţie, datorită fragilităţii amenajărilor[52]; este de presupus că şi acestea, ca şi în celelalte cazuri, să fi fost fie în cadrul unor temple, fie, într-un fel sau altul, acoperite.

Dacă avem în vedere numărul mare de temple şi varietatea lor tipologică, prezenţa statuetelor şi faptul că toate se datează în sec. I a. Chr. putem aprecia că aici avem atestat cel mai vechi şi mai important centru dacic de cult din acea epocă.

Rămân o enigmă motivaţia distrugerii acestor temple şi renunţarea la acest loc de cult; este de precizat şi faptul că aici nu s-au mai constatat alte activităţi rituale (nici măcar urme de locuire!) până la cucerirea romană. Faptul că statuetele au fost depuse în gropi, iar zona templelor nivelată sugerează că operaţiunea a fost efectuată, foarte probabil, chiar de dacii de aici.

Popeşti. *Picior de statuetă* (Î=152 mm). S-au descoperit două fragmente de picior de statuetă, din argilă fină, îngrijit modelate, de culoare cenuşie în interior şi roz la exterior, încălţat cu o opincă, ale cărei curele sunt redate prin incizii; zona de picior păstrată are dungi verticale, paralele, de culoare roşie; deasupra genunchiului se mai păstrează partea inferioară a unei cămăşi lungi care are marginea marcată de o dungă de vopsea de aceeaşi culoare. Dacă s-ar respecta proporţiile corpului, rezultă că înălţimea statuetei ar fi fost de circa 45 cm[53] (Fig. 11/6). După nivelul în care a fost descoperită ea se datează pe la mijlocul sec. I a. Chr. Este evident, după mărime şi atenţia cu care a fost modelată, că această statuetă nu poate fi inclusă în cadrul figurinelor, ci a statuetelor şi poate fi asociată cu templele cu absidă, datate în sec. I a. Chr.[54].

Analiza descoperirilor de figurine şi statuete antropomorfe şi zoomorfe dovedeşte, după opinia noastră, faptul că ele se deosebesc nu numai morfologic, adică prin dimensiuni şi valenţe artistice, ci şi prin contextele arheologice în care au apărut şi prin semnificaţia lor culturală diferită: primele aparţin sferei magiei şi vrăjitoriei, iar celelalte religiei.

De asemenea, dacă din punct de vedere formal există unele caracteristici comune între statuetele zoomorfe de la Cârlomăneşti şi „capacele" din celelalte situri, ele se deosebesc prin multe alte trăsături, atât formale (dimensiuni, realizare artistică, specii de animale), cât şi al contextelor în care s-au descoperit: primele doar în temple ori în gropile de lângă ele, ultimele doar în aşezări, ceea ce ar sugera şi utilizarea lor în acte rituale diferite.

Pe baza datelor arheologice am putea conchide că statuetele zoomorfe şi antropomorfe aparţin sferei religiei publice, pe când figurinele antropomorfe şi zoomorfe, plus „capacele" cu terminaţii avimorfe ori de mamifere, ţin de cultele familiale, de magie şi vrăjitorie.

[49] Babeş 1977, 319-352.
[50] Babeş 1977, 336-340.
[51] Sîrbu 1993, 68; Sîrbu, Florea 2002, 23-40.
[52] Gugiu 2004, 249-251.
[53] Vulpe 1960, 333, fig. 9/4.
[54] Vulpe 1960, 308-316; 1961, 321-328; 1966, 32-33.

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O FIBULĂ LINGURIŢĂ RECUPERATĂ ÎN VAMA DIN GIURGIU. OBSERVAŢII ASUPRA FIBULELOR LINGURIŢĂ DE LA DUNĂREA DE JOS

DANIEL SPÂNU

Key words: Bulgaria, Romania, late Latène period, spoon-bow fibulae, graves, hoards, chance-finds.
Abstract. Among the items retrieved by the customs officers at Giurgiu was the arc of a bronze fibula (Fig. 1), which pertains to the spoon-bow type of fibulae frequently encountered in the settlements and hoards, or less frequently in the tombs of late Latène Dacia. Given the satisfactory scientific treatment that the late Latène material in Bulgaria has received, the discovery of a spoon-bow fibula here represents a novelty, but not a surprise, for at least two reasons. On the one hand, the spoon-bow fibulae belong to a similar family of types spread almost all over Europe at the end of the Latène period (Fig. 3). On the other hand, the spatial distribution of the spoon-bow fibulae known so far in the central and moreover in the southern regions of the pre-Roman Dacia (Fig. 2) suggests that they may be missing from the discoveries in late Latène Bulgaria as a result of the current and temporary stage of the research.

There is one discovery known for few decades ago, though it has neither been illustrated, nor has it received an adequate description of the items recorded on the inventories; this discovery is meant to shed light upon the issue of the latest reference marks for dating the spoon-bow fibulae. The grave in the tumulus "Movila Hârtop" contains among others the association of a pair of silver spoon-bow fibulae with a roman provincial bronze (Emona-type) fibula (Fig. 4).

Cuvinte cheie: Bulgaria, România, perioada târzie Latène, fibule linguriță, morminte, tezaure, descoperiri întâmplătoare.
Rezumat. Printre piesele recuperate recent de agenții vămii din Giurgiu de la un traficant de antichități de cetățenie bulgară care intenționa să tranziteze România se află și o fibulă de bronz fragmentară (Fig. 1) care prin morfologia ei se încadrează tipului fibulelor linguriță întâlnite frecvent în așezările și tezaurele sau, mai rar, în mormintele din Dacia perioadei târzii a epocii Latène. În stadiul actual al valorificării științifice a materialelor de epocă târzie Latène din Bulgaria, descoperirea unei fibule linguriță constituie o noutate, nu însă și o surpriză, și aceasta din cel puțin două motive. Pe de o parte, fibulele linguriță aparțin unei familii de tipuri asemănătoare care a cunoscut o răspândire quasi-pan-europeană la sfârșitul perioadei Latène (Fig. 3). Pe de altă parte, distribuția spațială a fibulelor linguriță cunoscute până acum în regiunile centrale și mai ales sudice ale Daciei preromane (Fig. 2) sugerează posibilitatea ca absența lor din descoperirile perioadei târzii Latène din Bulgaria să nu fie decât consecința unui stadiu temporar al cercetării.

O descoperire cunoscută în literatura de specialitate de mai multe decenii, dar care până acum nu a fost nici ilustrată și nici nu a beneficiat de o descriere adecvată a pieselor din inventar, are menirea de a limpezi întru câtva problema celor mai târzii repere de datare ale fibulelor linguriță. Mormântul din tumulul „Movila Hârtop" conține printre altele asocierea unei perechi de fibule linguriță de argint cu o fibulă provincială de bronz cu o profilare complexă a arcului și piciorului (Fig. 4).

Printre piesele recuperate recent de agenții vămii din Giurgiu de la un traficant de antichități de cetățenie bulgară care intenționa să tranziteze România[1] se află și o fibulă de bronz fragmentară (Fig. 1), care, prin morfologia ei, se încadrează tipului fibulelor linguriță întâlnite frecvent în așezările și tezaurele sau, mai rar, în morminte din Dacia perioadei târzii a epocii Latène.

[1] Semnalarea fibulei recuperate la Vama din Giurgiu, unele date tehnice și documentarea fotografică a fibulei, precum și sugestia redactării contribuției de față le datorez colegului B. Tănăsescu. Am ținut seama totodată și de sugestiile colegilor mei Fl. Matei-Popescu, D. Măndescu și I. Pătrașcu. De asemenea, documentarea unora dintre materialele evocate în această lucrare mi-a fost înlesnită prin grija d-lor prof. dr. M. Babeș și M. Nicu. Îmi exprim față de toți deplina mea gratitudine.

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Descriere şi date tehnice: Din fibulă s-au păstrat numai calota şi placa arcului şi piciorului. Portagrafa este ruptă chiar de la baza ei. De asemenea, marginile calotei sunt şi ele deteriorate. Lipsesc de asemenea resortul şi acul. Curăţarea exagerată a piesei după descoperire a înlăturat urmele de sudură dintre suprafaţa interioară a calotei şi resort. Circumferinţa calotei la exterior prezintă o nervură uşor îngroşată; marginile plăcii arcului şi piciorului prezintă şi ele câte o nervură uşor îngroşată care se continuă şi pe calotă până la marginea ei inferioară, împărţind suprafaţa ei în trei registre. Cele două registre laterale prezintă şi ele câte o nervură oblică. Lăţimea plăcii descreşte dinspre calotă spre rotagrafă. O nervură mediană străbate suprafaţa exterioară a calotei şi a plăcii arcului şi piciorului pe toată lungimea fibulei. Această nervură mediană a suportat poansonări laterale care sugerează un ornament pseudofiligranat. Suprafaţa exterioară a piesei prezintă o patină mai albă, absentă la interior şi care ar putea indica o eventuală argintare iniţială a piesei. Dimensiunile fibulei: lungime 8,1 cm; lăţimea calotei 1,68 cm; lăţimea plăcii arcului (lângă calotă) 0,7 cm; lăţimea plăcii la extremitatea opusă calotei 0,3 cm; grosimea plăcii max. 0,1 cm. În prezent fibula se află în custodia Muzeului Judeţean „Teohari Antonescu" din Giurgiu.

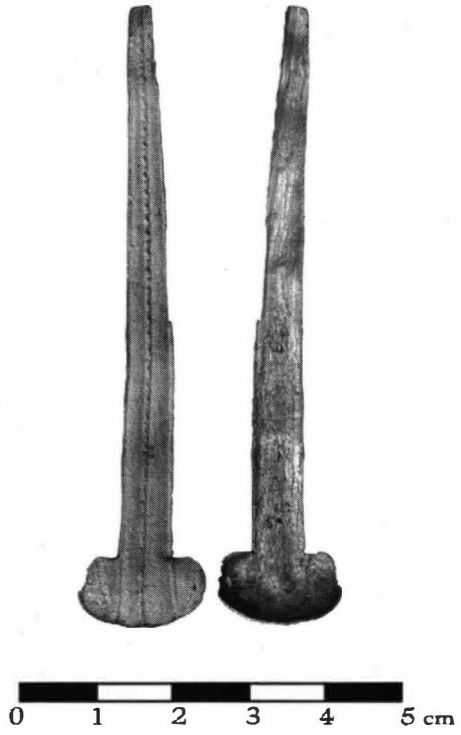

Fig. 1. Fibula linguriţă recuperată în vama din Giurgiu.
Foto B. Tănăsescu.

(Fig. 1. The spoon-bow type of fibulae retrieved by the customs officers at Giurgiu.)

1. FIBULELE LINGURIŢĂ – REPLICĂ REGIONALĂ A UNEI SCHEME SUPRAREGIONALE DE FIBULE TÂRZII LATÈNE

În stadiul actual al valorificării ştiinţifice a materialelor de epocă târzie Latène din Bulgaria, descoperirea unei fibule linguriţă constituie o noutate, nu însă şi o surpriză, şi aceasta din cel puţin două motive. Pe de o parte, fibulele linguriţă aparţin unei familii de tipuri asemănătoare care a cunoscut o răspândire quasi-pan-europeană la sfârşitul perioadei Latène. Pe de altă parte, distribuţia spaţială a fibulelor linguriţă, cunoscute până acum în regiunile centrale şi mai ales sudice ale Daciei preromane (Fig. 2), sugerează posibilitatea ca absenţa lor din descoperirile perioadei târzii Latène din Bulgaria să nu fie decât consecinţa unui stadiu temporar al cercetării.

Tipul fibulelor linguriţă a fost identificat ca o replică a meşterilor orfevrii şi bronzieri din Dacia preromană care au preluat ca model o schemă supraregională de fibule răspândite din Franţa până în Polonia şi Ucraina, din Lombardia şi până în Olanda în perioada târzie a Latène-ului (Fig. 3). Formele variate de fibule care corespund acestei scheme, au fost denumite în mod diferit în literatură: Otto Tischler le denumea

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încă la 1885 ca „fibule cu cap în formă de ceşcuţă" (Fibel mit schälchenförmigem Kopf)[2]. În schimb, în tipologia lui Beltz din 1911 ele au fost indicate prin sigla „M", iar în cea a lui Kostrzewski (1919), prin sigla „J". În literatura ultimelor decenii, astfel de fibule au primit o serie de denumiri, determinate uneori tocmai de particularitatea lor morfologică principală, şi anume protejarea resortului într-o calotă: Schüsselfibel (fibule-castron)[3] / spoon-bow brooches / fibules à coquille / Feugère 7c-d / Ettlinger 2. Toate aceste denumiri au fost aplicate acelor fibule care prezintă un arc cu aspect de bandă îngustată spre portagrafă şi lărgită în partea opusă printr-o dezvoltare cu aspect de calotă sau cochilie, care cuprinde şi înglobează resortul. Larga difuziune a acestei scheme de fibulă specifică perioadei târzii a Latène-ului – am putea spune o difuziune „pan-europeană" (Fig. 3) – sugerează posibilitatea ca noi exemplare aparţinând acestei mari familii morfologico-tipologice, să fie descoperite în mod izolat sau nu, şi în regiuni în care până acum ele lipseau din evidenţa arheologică.

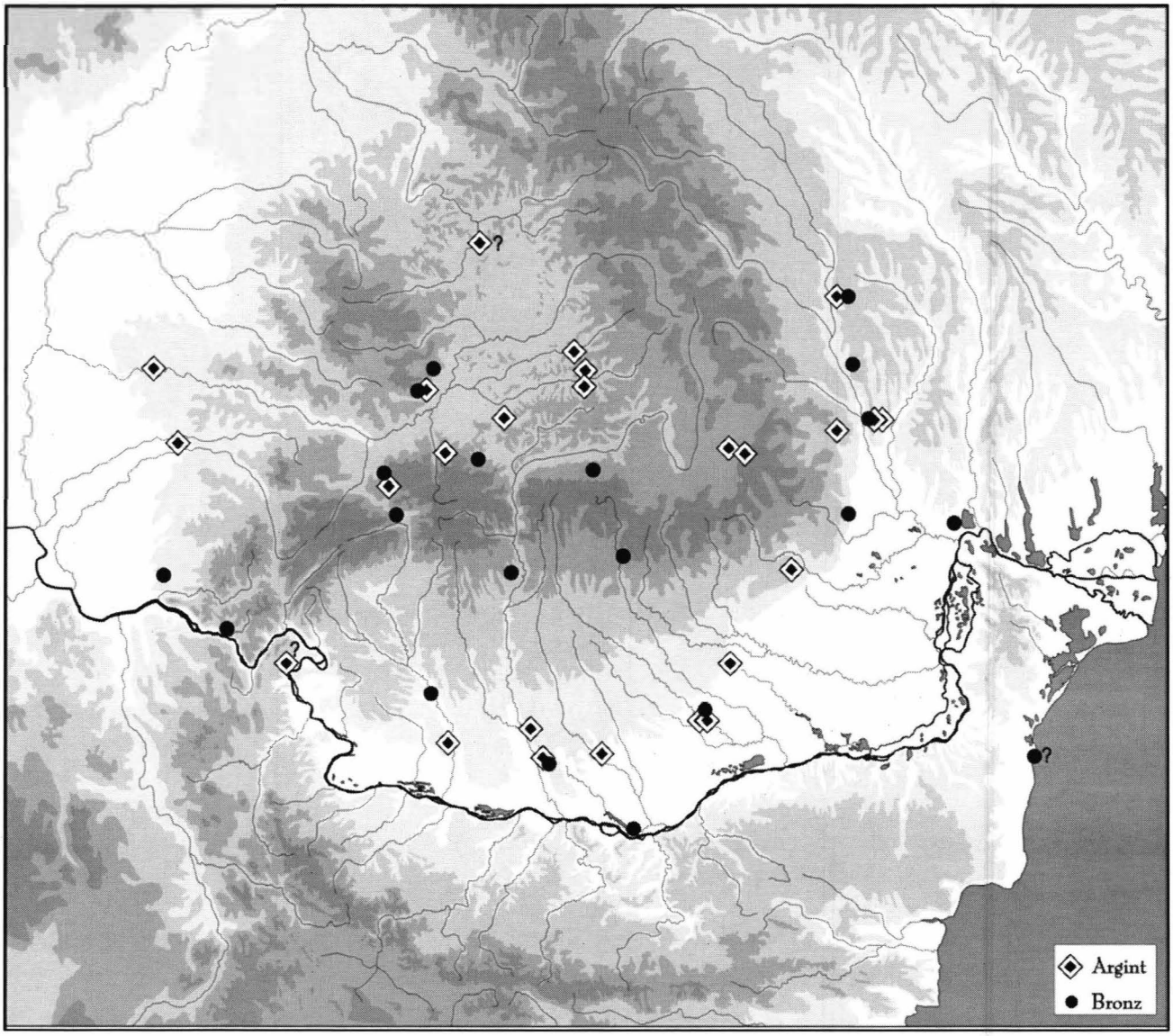

Fig. 2. Răspândirea fibulelor linguriță din argint sau bronz. După Rustoiu A. 1997, Fig. 50, cu completări şi rectificări.

(Fig. 2. The spatial distribution of the silver or bronze spoon-bow fibulae. After A. Rustoiu 1997, Fig. 50 with supplements and rectifications.)

[2] Tischler 1885, 23.

[3] Filip 1956, Fig. 44/11-12, Pl. CXXVI/24; Krămer 1971, Fig. 2/4.

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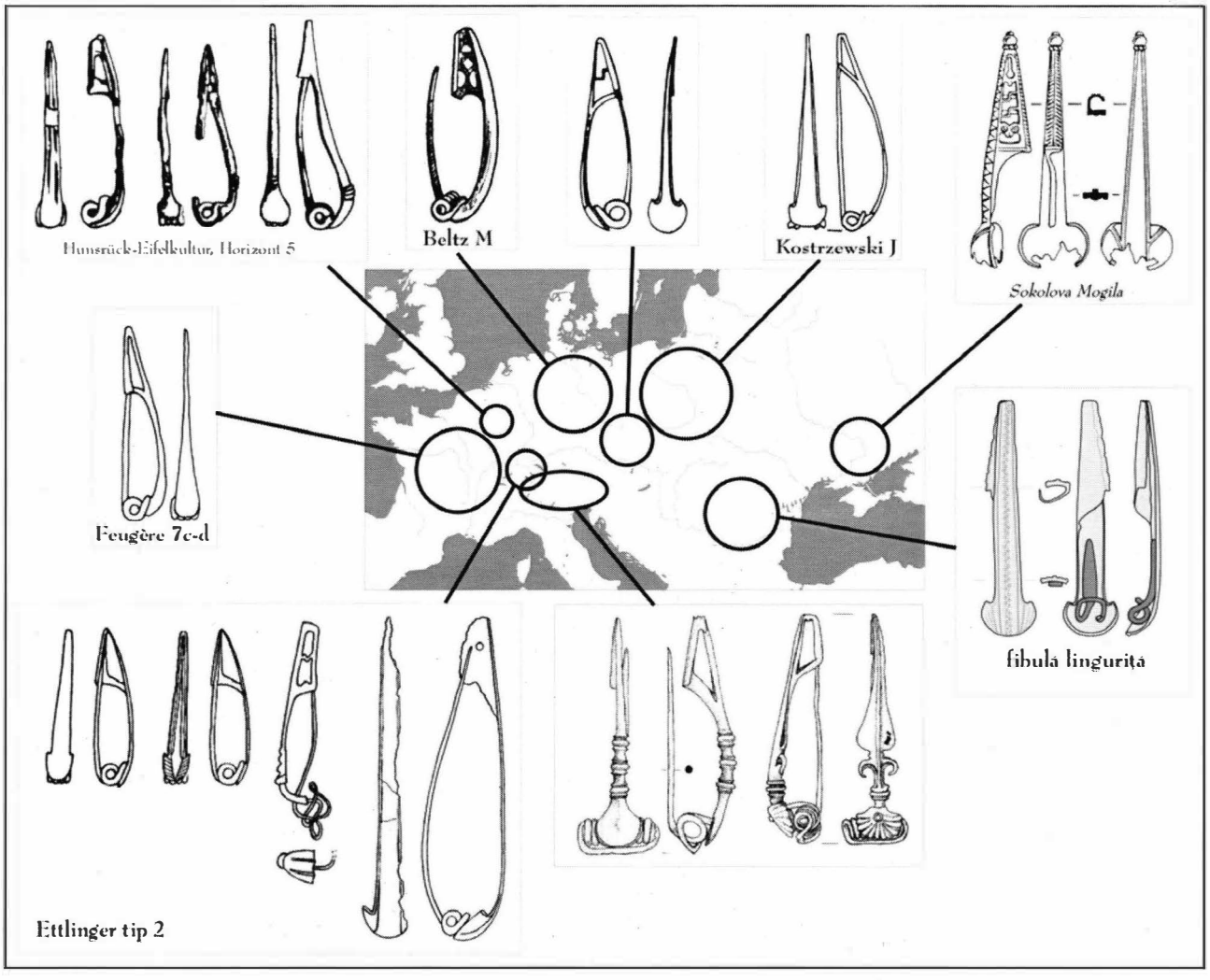

Fig. 3. Răspândirea diferitelor forme de fibule cu resortul protejat într-o calotă în Europa.

(Fig. 3. Map of the spoon-bow type of fibulae in Europe.)

Elementul principal care diferențiază fibulele linguriță din Dacia de celelalte tipuri central-europene evocate până acum, îl constituie sistemul de racordare a resortului la arc. În cazul tipurilor central-europene, acul împreună resortul fie se dezvoltă din arc, astfel că întreaga piesă este realizată din aceiaşi şarjă de metal, fie sunt fixate de acesta prin nituire (în cazul tipului Birgitz din regiunea alpină)[4]. În schimb, fibulele linguriță sunt realizate din două elemente distincte (arcul cu portagrafa pe de o parte şi resortul cu acul pe de alta), unite prin sudură; acul continuat din resort putea fi realizat chiar dintr-un metal diferit față de cel folosit pentru arc, aşa cum o indică unele exemplare de fibule linguriță în cazul cărora sudura a rezitat în timp, iar fragmente din resort se mai regăsesc pe reversul calotei[5].

Acelaşi sistem de racordare prin sudură a resortului la arc, comun fibulelor linguriță din Dacia preromană, pare să fi caracterizat şi fibula depistată asupra traficantului de antichități bulgar. Ce e drept, pe reversul calotei acestei piese abia dacă se pot recunoaşte vagi urme de sudură – o conjunctură care se datorează în primul rând metodelor de curățare excesivă a piesei în muzeul din Giurgiu. Pe de altă parte, piesa nu prezintă vreun început de dezvoltare a resortului direct din calota arcului fibulei, aşa cum s-ar

[4] Gleirscher 1987, 67-68.

[5] Unul dintre exemplele cele mai elocvente în acest sens este oferit de o fibulă linguriță de argint de la Răcătău care păstrează sudat pe revers un resort de bronz (Muz. Bacău, inv. 7810; pentru bibliografie v. *infra* n. 13). Numeroase alte exemple au fost reunite de Rustoiu 1997, 207-211, Fig. 51/8, 52/2-4, 6, 8, 10-13, 53/11-12, Fig. 54/8, 55/11.

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întâmpla în cazul unui exemplar al tipului fibulelor-castron (Schüsselfibel), motiv care ne face să bănuim că resortul fusese inițial sudat pe reversul calotei.

2. CONSIDERAȚII ASUPRA MORFOLOGIEI FIBULELOR LINGURIȚĂ

Mai întâi Kurt Horedt şi mai recent Aurel Rustoiu au distins patru variante ale fibulelor linguriță, departajate pe baza modalităților diferite de tratare a portagrafei, precum şi pe baza prezenței unor monturi pe arc. Cu alte cuvinte, ajurarea simplă, ajurarea cu nervuri sau absența ajurării portagrafei a determinat distingerea variantelor **a-c** din ambele tipologii, în timp ce aplicarea de caboşoane, de ornamente filigranate sau chiar de mici figurine reprezintă criterii specifice variantei **d**[6]. Din păcate, portagrafa fibulei recuperate în vama din Giurgiu lipseşte, astfel că nu se poate preciza dacă ea s-ar încadra într-una dintre variantele **a**, **b** sau **c** din clasificările Horedt-Rustoiu.

Trebuie însă atrasă atenția asupra inconsecvenței criteriilor de departajare morfologică din clasificările amintite: de exemplu, unele fibule linguriță de la Răcătău, Ocnița, Poiana sau Mănăstioara, ornamentate pe arc cu monturi de caboşoane sau mici figurine avimorfe[7] (varainta Horedt-Rustoiu **d**) prezintă o portagrafă plină, neajurată – o caracteristică definitorie a variantei Horedt-Rustoiu **c**. Totodată, aplicarea de monturi pe arc se poate regăsi şi pe fibule linguriță cu portagrafa cu ajurări intercalate de nervuri (o caracteristică specifică variantei Horedt-Rustoiu **b**), aşa cum ni se înfățişază un exemplar, din păcate astăzi probabil dispărut, de la Poiana[8].

Unele fibule-linguriță de la Căpâlna[9], Cârlomăneşti[10], Craiva[11], Poiana-Movila Hârtop[12] sau Răcătău[13] (Fig. 3 – stânga), dar şi fibula recuperată în vama din Giurgiu, prezintă pe arc un motiv meandric (sau în zig-zag) reliefat care sugerează filigranul, dar care a fost realizat prin poansonare. Dintre aceste piese, unele prezintă o portagrafă ajurată, altele însă nu. Prin urmare, motivul zig-zagului reliefat (pseudofiligranat), amplasat de-a lungul axului median al aversului plăcii arcului acestor fibule linguriță constituie o particularitate ornamentală care nici ea nu poate fi raportată la clasificarea Horedt-Rustoiu.

Pe baza acestor remarci, se poate considera că ornamentarea portagrafei nu reprezintă singura variabilă morfologică pe baza căreia ar putea fi clasificate fibulele linguriță, la fel cum nici modalitățile diferite de decorare a arcului nu pot fi invocate în mod exclusiv pentru determinarea unor variante în cadrul acestui tip. O clasificare judicioasă a fibulelor linguriță ar putea decurge mai degrabă din conjugarea acestor variabile, şi anume aspectul general al portagrafei (plină, ajurată rectangular sau ajurată cu nervuri) şi cel al arcului (canelura dublă, prezența menandrului pseudofiligranat sau montarea unor caboşoane sau a unor figurine avimorfe). Totuşi, o astfel de abordare ar genera un număr mare de variante: se disting şase asocieri de motive (sisteme de ornamentare) specifice fibulelor linguriță (Tab. 1). Pe de altă parte, diversitatea sistemelor de ornamentare este rezultatul aplicării după caz a uneia sau a mai multor tehnici decorative. Cu alte cuvinte, în cazul fibulelor linguriță se poate considera că diversitatea ornamentală este determinată de complexitatea tehnicilor decorative, şi poate că tocmai în această constatare am putea întrezări un principiu mai coerent de clasificare a acestei grupe morfologice de piese.

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[6] Horedt 1973, 136, Fig. 2, tipul A4 variantele a-d; Rustoiu 1997, 48-50, tipul 16 variantele a-d.

[7] Rustoiu 1997, 209, Fig. 53/10, 12, 14-15 şi 211, Fig. 55/10.

[8] Vulpe R., Dunăranu-Vulpe E. 1933, 344, Fig. 127.

[9] Glodariu, Moga 1989, 110, 209, Fig. 96/4.

[10] Piesă inedită, informație oferită cu amabilitate de către prof. dr. M. Babeş.

[11] Moga 1979, 514, pl. I, 4

[12] V. *infra*, n. 25-26.

[13] Căpitanu, Ursachi 1969, 96, 128-129, Fig. 34 (stânga-jos), Fig. 35 (stânga); Căpitanu 1976, 64, Fig. 41/1; în privința contextului de descoperire, Căpitanu 1984, 64, nr. 1, 74, Fig. 1/4 precizează laconic numai faptul că fibula „a fost descoperită în complex închis". Despre un alt exemplar similar de la Răcătău, şi el ornamentat cu un motiv meandric pseudofiligranat, Căpitanu 1984, 65, nr. 16, Fig. 2/6 arată că este realizat „din metal alb, iar scheletul din bronz", o constatare care iarăşi oferă o bună analogie pentru piesa recuperată la vama din Giurgiu, al cărei corp din bronz pare să fi fost acoperit cu o poleială alb-cenuşie (arginat ?).

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Tabel 1

Ornamentarea fibulelor linguriță

		Portagrafa :	
		plină	ajurată
Arcul :	2 caneluri	+	+
	meandru pseudofiligranat	+	+
	monturi cu caboşon şi/sau figurină	+	+

Tehnici de ornamentare

- *a. poansonare*
- *b. poansonare + ajurare*
- *c. poansonare (± ajurare) + filigran / granulație / monturi*

Desigur, practicarea sau nu a tehnicilor de ornamentare constituia expresia unei alegeri deliberate a meşterilor orfevrii şi bronzieri şi se poate pune întrebarea dacă nu cumva gradul de complexitate a tehnicilor ornamentale folosite nu avea menirea de a spori, printr-un aport de manoperă, dar şi estetic suplimentar, valoarea intrinsecă a metalului folosit pentru realizarea piesei. În mod straniu, fibulele linguriță ornamentate prin tehnicile cele mai complexe, cu monturi de caboşoane şi figurine sau cu motive filigranate au fost rar realizate din argint şi sunt de dimensiuni mici.

Pe baza complexității tehnicilor decorative folosite se pot distinge trei variante tehnologico-ornamentale ale fibulelor linguriță:

a. Fibule linguriță decorate exclusiv prin poansonarea unor caneluri pe aversului arcului şi uneori a unor motive liniare pe suprafața exterioară a portagrafei pline. Uneori, decorul arcului poate fi amplificat prin poansonarea motivului meandric pseudofiligranant aşa cum se întâmplă în cazul unor fibule de la Cârlomăneşti, Poiana – Movila Hârtop, Răcătău. Tot în această grupă mai trebuie incluse, ca subvarinată, câteva fibule de la Poiana şi Ocnița caracterizate de redarea prin poansonare a unei protome (canine?) pe picior[14].

b. Fibule linguriță pentru a căror decorare s-a recurs alături de poansonare şi la ajurarea portagrafei, deschizându-se fie un spațiu rectangular, fie unul fragmentat prin nervuri. In două cazuri (la Căpâlna şi probabil la Craiva) arcul unor asemenea fibule comportă un motiv meandric pseudofiligranant.

c. Fibule linguriță în cazul cărora ornamentarea a presupus sudarea sau montarea unor elemente distincte, preparate separat (filigran, granulație, caboşoane figurine avimorfe), fără să se abandoneze însă celelalte două tehnici (poansonare sau ajur), aşa cum o ilustrează fibulele de la Mănăstioara-Fitioneşti[15], Ocnița[16], Poiana[17] sau Răcătău[18].

Concluziile considerațiilor morfologice. Cititorul mi-ar putea reproşa faptul că propunerea de clasificare prezentată în rândurile de față nu aduce modificări substanțiale schemei de departajare tipologică a fibulelor linguriță propuse în clasificarea Horedt-Rustoiu. Atrag însă atenția asupra faptului că precizarea criteriilor de clasificare şi asigurarea coerenței lor nu sunt mai puțin importante decât rezultatul unei clasificări, şi aceasta, şi datorită nevoii de argumentare a raportării unor noi piese la tipologiile deja existente în cercetarea

[14] Exemplare de la Poiana: Teodor, Țau 1997, 98, nr. 138, 78, Fig. 12/8; Vulpe R., Teodor S. 2003, 215, nr. 138, 581, Fig. 102/8; exemplare de la Ocnița: Berciu 1981, 88, Fig. 20/1 = pl. 48/7, pl. 36/5. Nu trebuie exclusă însă posibilitatea ca forma generală a protomei canine să fi fost obținută deja din faza de turnare şi forjare a fibulei, detaliile suplimentare urmând să fie redate ulterior prin poansonare.

[15] Bobi 1981, 507-509, Fig. 1.

[16] Berciu 1981, 88, Fig. 20/3 şi 222, pl. 48/8.

[17] Vulpe R., Dunăreanu-Vulpe E. 1933, 344, Fig. 127; Vulpe R. et alii 1952, Fig. 28 = Vulpe R., Teodor S. 2003, 215, 581, Fig. 102/3; Vulpe R., Teodor S. 2003, 215, 581, Fig. 102/4; Vulpe R., Dunăreanu-Vulpe E. 1933, 327, Fig. 107 = Vulpe R., Teodor S. 2003, 216, 581, Fig. 102/12; Vulpe R., Teodor S. 2003, 216, 582, Fig. 103/2.

[18] Căpitanu 1984, 64, nr. 2, 74, Fig. 1/5. Potrivit autorului, piesa ar fi din argint, dar culoarea oxidului verde care acoperă fibula sugerează că aceasta fie este din bronz, fie că aliajul din care ea a fost realizată prezintă un titlu scăzut de argint.

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arheologică. În cazul clasificării morfologice a fibulelor linguriță consider ca determinante, tocmai tehnicile de ornamentare folosite și nu prezența sau absența unor motive decorative.

Din această perspectivă, dificultatea încadrării tipologice a fibulei recuperate la vama din Giurgiu, determinată de absența portagrafei și implicit de imposibilitatea precizării tehnicii sau tehnicilor ornamentale care au stat la baza ornamentării (sau nu) a părții lipsă, este poate mai puțin importantă. Ornamentul meandric pseudofiligranat de pe aversul arcului este suficient pentru precizarea câtorva analogii care permit încadrarea fibulei de la vama din Giurgiu printre variantele ale căror exemplare au fost decorate prin tehnici ornamentale simple (poansonare și eventual ajurarea portagrafei), dar care sunt lipsite de monturi. După cum voi arăta în continuare, această particularitate ornamentală a fibulei de la vama din Giurgiu își vădește importanța și din perspectiva cronologiei diferitelor variante ale fibulelor linguriță.

3. CONSIDERAȚII ASUPRA CRONOLOGIEI FIBULELOR LINGURIȚĂ ȘI IMPORTANȚA UNUI INVENTAR FUNERAR UITAT – TUMULUL DE LA POIANA – MOVILA HÂRTOP

Atât K. Horedt, cât și A. Rustoiu[19] au datat fibulele linguriță la finele secolului I a.Chr. și la începutul secolului următor. În cronologia relativă și absolută a tezaurelor dacice, fibulele linguriță alcătuiesc unul dintre tipurile specifice fazei târzii a acestor descoperiri[20], o încadrare întemeiată în special pe asocierile cu denari emiși în ultimele decenii ale Republicii în tezaurul de la Șeica Mică pe Târnave[21] sau chiar cu monede augusteice în tezaurul de la Remetea Mare în Banat[22]. Tocmai aceste asocieri ne împiedecă să încadrăm fibulele linguriță într-o fază mai veche, de la începutul și mijlocul secolului I a.Chr., o fază caracterizată de asocierile dintre fibulele cu noduri și drahme de Apollonia și Dyrrhachium (la Agârbiciu, Sacalasău, Drăgești, Cehei) sau tetradrahme thasiene (la Clipicești)[23]. Dacă în stadiul actual al cercetării deținem suficiente indicii pentru aproximarea momentului de început al folosirii fibulelor linguriță în Dacia, în ultima treime a secolului I a.Chr., în privința duratei păstrării în uz a acestui tip nu s-au putut face până în prezent decât unele aproximări plauzibile, lipsite însă de argumente ferme.

Din fericire, o descoperire cunoscută în literatura de specialitate de mai multe decenii, dar care până acum nu a fost nici ilustrată și nici nu a beneficiat de o descriere adecvată a pieselor din inventar, are menirea de a limpezi întru câtva problema celor mai târzii repere de datare ale fibulelor linguriță. Cercetat în 1936, menționat întâia dată în 1952[24] și descris mai pe larg 24 de ani mai târziu[25], mormântul din tumulul „Movila Hârtop" conține printre altele asocierea unei perechi de fibule linguriță de argint cu o fibulă provincială de bronz cu o profilare complexă a arcului și piciorului[26] (Fig. 4).

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[19] v. *supra* n. 6.

[20] Horedt 1973, 132, Tab. I, 136; Spânu 2002, 100.

[21] Floca 1956, 18-36.

[22] Bleyer 1906, 363-364; o descriere adecvată a denarilor de la Remetea Mare: Chițescu 1981, 256. Asupra caracterului excepțional al asocierii fibulelor linguriță cu tetradrahme thasiene în tezaurul de la Remetea Mare: Horedt 1973, 136, n. 32.

[23] Asupra relevanței asocierilor dintre fibulele cu noduri și drahme: Horedt 1973, 131-132, Tab. I; Spânu 2002, 98-99, Fig. 19.

[24] Vulpe R. *et alii* 1952, 209-210. Unele informații suplimentare Protase 1971, 38, nt. 50.

[25] Vulpe 1976, 208-210. Taxonomia fibulelor propusă de către A. Vulpe a fost preluată fără verificări de către Sîrbu 1993, 72-73 și 1994b, 126. Pe bună dreptate, Rustoiu 1996, 33 precizează că fibulele considerate de A. Vulpe ca aparținând tipului Nauheim sunt de fapt fibule linguriță. Până la ora actuală, inventarul mormântului din Movila Hârtop de la Poiana nu a fost însă ilustrat.

[26] Piesele din inventarul mormântului se află la Muzeul din Tecuci, inv. 3052-3053 și au fost documentate în mai 2001 și mai 2003 de autorul acestor rânduri cu permisiunea d-lui director Mircea Nicu, căruia îi adresez mulțumirile mele. Alături de cele trei fibule, din inventarul funerar mai fac parte un cuțit de fier (menționat de Vulpe 1976, 208), mai multe flacoane-pandantiv din sticlă vișinie, perle de sticlă colorată și din cristal de rocă, trei inele spiralice și o verigă de argint, caboșonul din foaie de aur (provenind probabil de la un inel de deget), o oglindă de bronz și fragmente ceramice provenind de la o amforă, de la mai multe fructiere și de la alte recipiente din pastă cenușie lucrate la roată ș.a.

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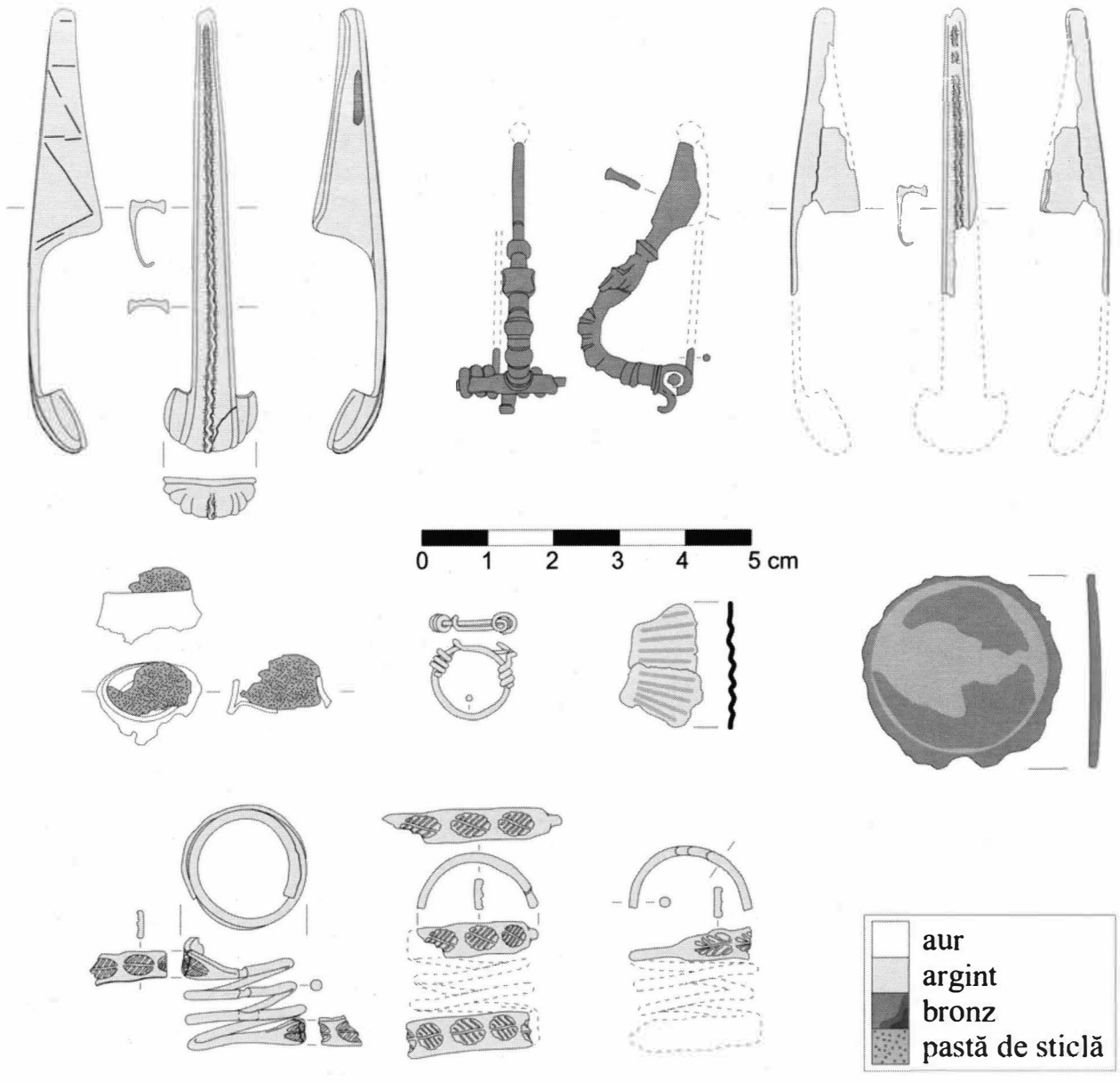

Fig. 4. Inventarul metalic al mormântului tumular de incinerație din Poiana, Movila Hârtop. Desene după original.

(Fig. 4. The inventory of metallic objects found in the cremation grave tumulus from Poiana, Movila Hârtop.)

Valoarea cronologică a acestei asocieri sporește în măsura în care pe arcul și piciorul fibulei de epocă romană se poate recunoaște reprezentarea unei protome zoomorfe, probabil canine (Rustoiu – tip 21). Astfel de fibule cu protomă pe picior au cunoscut o importantă răspândire în Pannonia și Noricum, numeroase descoperiri concentrându-se în regiunea Emonei și se datează larg în perioada Augustus-Vespasian[27]. Prin urmare, fibula din bronz cu arcul ornamentat cu o protomă canină din mormântul de la Poiana – Movila Hârtop constituie, ca și alte exemplare similare descoperite în așezarea dacică din aceiași localitate[28], un import de epocă imperială timpurie. Se poate presupune că apariția în Dacia a fibulelor cu protomă canină pe arc este ulterioară fazei în care acest tip s-a constituit în regiunile nord și est-alpine, probabil în perioada domniilor lui

[27] Pe lângă literatura mai veche citată de Rustoiu 1997, 56, nt. 281-282, v. mai recent: Demetz 1999, 137-147, 195-196.

[28] In mod nejustificat Vulpe, Teodor, 2003, 208, nr. 33 și 35 datează exemplarele descoperite în așezarea de la Poiana în „sec. I a. Ch. – I p. Ch." sau, în cazul piesei de la nr. 34, numai în „sec. I a. Ch." (!). În schimb, fibula de la nr. 37 este datată acceptabil în „sec. I d. H.", cu totate că și această afirmație suportă unele nuanțări.

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Augustus şi Tiberius, astfel că receptarea şi datarea exemplarelor cu protomă pe arc de la Poiana în general şi în particular a fibulei din tumulul Movila Hârtop ar putea fi aproximată mai degrabă în cea de a doua treime a secolului I p.Chr. Prin urmare, asocierea celor două tipuri de fibule din mormântul Movila Hârtop impune o prelungire a perioadei de folosire a fibulelor linguriță cel puțin până la mijlocul secolului I p.Chr.

Tot în acest sens ar mai putea fi invocată şi realizarea pe piciorul unor fibule linguriță de la Poiana sau Ocnița a unor protome zoomorfe (probabil canine) plasate în zona de tranziție dintre arc şi picior şi orientate spre portagrafă[29]. Se poate pune întrebarea dacă apariția protomei pe corpul unor fibule linguriță nu ilustrează adaptarea de către orfevrii locali a unui motiv împrumutat din ornamentica fibulelor provinciale la o schemă tradițională de fibule din Dacia preromană. În orice caz, această plauzibilă "contaminare" motivistică sugerează că asocierea dintre fibulele linguriță şi fibula cu protomă din mormântul Movila Hârtop, în ciuda unicității ei (în stadiul de până acum al cercetării), nu este deloc întâmplătoare.

Pe de altă parte, apariția ornamentației filigranate pe unele fibule linguriță (de exemplu pe cea de la Mănăstioara), precum şi imitarea prin poansonare a efectului de filigran, aşa cum o ilustrează exemplarul recuperat la vama din Giurgiu, dar şi o fibulă linguriță încă inedită de la Cârlomăneşti[30], ar putea fi considerate ca expresii ale unor influențe romane sau poate chiar sarmatice exercitate în faza târzie a orfevreriei dacice (faza prin excelență a fibulelor linguriță). În acest sens pledează, poate în modul cel mai elocvent, inventarul tezaurului de la Vedea în care, alături de fibule cu scut şi linguriță, regăsim şi un lanț scurt, ale cărui extremități au fost protejate prin manşoane ornamentate prin filigran şi granulație. Acest lanț[31] constituie până în prezent singurul exemplu de piesă ornamentată prin filigran şi granulație din inventarele tezaurelor dacice. Din această perspectivă, se poate pune întrebarea dacă nu cumva, adoptarea timidă şi izolată de către orfevrerii din Dacia preromană a celor două tehnici ornamentale şi implicit imitarea prin poansonare a efectului lor decorativ, nu ar trebui încadrată în prima jumătate a secolului I p.Chr.

În cadrul demersului de față, precizarea limitei târzii a perioadei de folosire a fibulelor linguriță nu şi-ar fi găsit deplina justificare dacă fibulele linguriță de la Poiana – Movila Hârtop nu ar fi prezentat acelaşi ornament meandric pseudofiligranat pe aversul plăcii arcului, pe care îl regăsim şi pe exemplarul recuperat la vama din Giurgiu. Cu toată reținerea cu care trebuie acceptată valoarea cronologică a unor motive ornamentale, această analogie pledează pentru posibilitatea încadrării cronologice a fibulei recuperate la vama din Giurgiu către sfârşitul primei jumătăți a secolului I p.Chr.

4. CONSIDERAȚII ASUPRA PROVENIENȚEI FIBULEI RECUPERATE ÎN VAMA GIURGIU

Trebuie să recunoaştem că în privința locului de descoperire a fibulei linguriță pot fi avansate unele dubii, cu atât mai mult cu cât condițiile de descoperire sunt necunoscute şi orice indiciu asupra proveniență piesei lipseşte, iar în evidențele de specialitate descoperirea unei astfel de piese nu a mai fost încă semnalată pe teritoriul Bulgariei. Singura conjunctură certă o constituie faptul că traficantul de antichități de la care s-a recuperat fibula, deține cetățenia bulgară, îşi părăsea țara de origine şi urma să tranziteze România, dar acest aspect nu contribuie în mod direct la elucidarea locului de descoperire al piesei.

Desigur, pe baza evidenței arheologice de până acum, s-ar putea pune întrebarea dacă nu cumva fibula linguriță depistată în vama din Giurgiu nu provine cumva de la nord de Dunăre şi nu de pe teritoriul bulgar, unde astfel de piese nu au mai fost încă identificate. Dar chiar şi în ipoteza puțin probabilă a descoperirii fibulei pe teritoriul românesc, ne putem mai lesne închipui că ea provine totuşi din regiunile sud-carpatice şi nu din Transilvania, unde traficul neoficial de antichități este în mod tradițional orientat către țările central şi vest-europene: epopeea brățărilor spiralice de aur de la Grădiştea de Munte este elocventă în acest sens[32]. De asemenea, dacă totuşi acceptăm proveniența bulgară a fibulei, este puțin probabil ca aceasta să provină din regiunile de sud ale Traciei, atât de îndepărtate de spațiul de difuziune al fibulelor linguriță. Prin urmare, se poate considera că fibula achiziționată în vama din Giurgiu provine dintr-un sit aflat în bazinul Dunării Inferioare (între Carpații Meridionali şi masivul Stara Planina).

[29] v. *supra* n. 14.

[30] Informații M. Babeş şi S. Matei. Fibula de argint se află la Muzeul din Buzău, inv. 21963.

[31] Popescu 1941, 186, Fig. 4.

[32] Lazăr 2008, 128-132.

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Pe de altă parte, unele publicații recente ale cercetătorilor bulgari[33] au semnalat amploarea braconajului arheologic din țara vecină, un fenomen care, iată, a contaminat și siturile dacice din Munții Orăștiei. Descoperirea brățărilor de aur de la Grădiștea de Munte sugerează că surprize arheologice de răsunet pot să apară și în situri cercetate sistematic de-a lungul mai multor decenii[34]. Dintr-o astfel de perspectivă, apariția în regiunile de la sud de Dunăre a unor tipuri neevidențiate încă în literatura de specialitate poate fi plauzibilă.

Trebuie precizat însă că teritoriul actual al Bulgariei nu ar trebui confundat cu totalitatea ținuturilor situate la sud de Dunăre. Într-unul dintre mormintele elenistice târzii descoperite pe teritoriul orașului Constanța, deci la sud de Dunăre (!), M. Bucovală semnala o fibulă de bronz, din care „se păstrează, corodat, arcul în formă de linguriță"[35], informație care l-a determinat pe A. Rustoiu să includă piesa în repertoriul fibulelor linguriță[36]. În măsura în care această piesă s-ar adeveri a fi o veritabilă fibulă linguriță, ea ar constitui un exemplu pilduitor pentru prezența acestui tip la sud de Dunăre, fie chiar și în teritoriul unei cetăți grecești.

Descoperirea la sud de fluviu a unor fibule linguriță mai este indirect sugerată și de două exemplare aflate încă dinaintea celui de al II-lea Război Mondial (dacă nu chiar dinaintea Primului Război) în colecțiile Muzeului Național din Belgrad[37]. Din păcate nu știm dacă aceste două fibule provin din situri aflate în zona tronsonului sârbesc al Dunării, sau poate chiar din reguinea Djerdap-ului (malul sârbesc al regiunii Porțile de Fier). Totuși, în această regiune sunt atestate mai multe descoperiri de piese cu o morfologie specifică orfevreriei Latène-ului târziu din Dacia, de exemplu brățara din mormântul de la Dubova[38], tezaurul de la Izvorul Frumos[39], sau cele două cupe de tip mastos de la Turnu Severin[40], pentru a evoca numai exemple de pe malul românesc al fluviului. Dacă proveniența celor două fibule linguriță din Muzeul din Belgrad este totuși incertă, nu trebuie pierdut din vedere însă că de pe malul sudic al tronsonului sârbesc al Dunării, și anume de la Velika Vrbica, provine o brățara spiralică terminată cu benzi ornamentate cu palmete și protome zoomorfe[41]. Dacă descoperirile întâmplătoare pe malul stâng al clisurii Dunării (cele două cupe de la Turnu Severin, tezaurul de la Izvorul Frumos) au fost achiziționate de instituții de profil românești, iată că brățara de la Velika Vrbica a fost integrată colecțiilor Muzeului Național din Belgrad unde se află și amintitele fibule linguriță cu proveniență incertă, precum și alte două brățări spiralice originare din România[42] (probabil sudul Olteniei). Cu toate că nu mai poate fi confirmată, posibilitatea ca cele două fibule conservate la Muzeul Belgrad să provină de pe malul drept al Dunării nu poate fi însă exclusă, ci, dimpotrivă, ea ni se înfățișază mai degrabă ca plauzibilă. Prin urmare, cele două piese de la Muzeul Național din Belgrad oferă un indiciu imprecis, dar totuși sugestiv în privința posibilității descoperirii unor fibule linguriță în regiuni aflate la sud de Dunăre.

Brățara de la Velika Vrbica este similară sub aspect morfologic celei din tezaurul descoperit pe malul opus al Dunării la Izvorul Frumos, dar și altor exemplare descoperite în Muntenia (Bălănești, Rociu, Coada Malului), Transilvania (Grădiștea de Munte, Orăștie, Hetiur, Peteni, Ghelința, Senereuș) sau chiar Crișana (Oradea), care alcătuiesc unul dintre tipurile cele mai spectaculoase de podoabe ale orfevreriei din Dacia preromană[43]. Pentru demersul de față cu totul semnificativă este asocierea unora dintre brățările spiralice cu

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[33] Asupra amplorii activității căutătorilor de comori din Bulgaria: Theodossiev 2000, 25-26, Lazarova, Paunova 2003, 45; Daleva, Ivanov 2008, 112-124. Asupra braconajului arheologic din Munții Orăștiei: Iaroslavschi, Bozu 2001, 127-128, nt. 3; Lazăr 2008, 128.

[34] Ciută, Rustoiu 2007; Deppert-Lippitz 2008.

[35] Bucovală 1967, 115, nr. 72, mormântul LXII, piesa c; din păcate, fibula nu a fost ilustrată. In afară de laconica descriere a fibulei, pentru o identificare a ei ca „fibulă linguriță", ar mai putea fi invocată și analogia pe care o propune autorul cu una dintre fibulele de la Popești (Vulpe R. 1957, 240, Fig. 22/3).

[36] Rustoiu 1997, 49 și 108, lista 14, nr. 7.

[37] Cele două fibule se aflau deja în perioada interbelică la Muzeul din Belgrad și au fost publicate de Grdić 1930, 177-178, Fig. 1-2, pl. XXXIV/1-2 care le considera eronat ca fibule romane; mai recent ele au fost reilustrate și datate just în epocă preromană de către Popović I. 1994, 187, nr. 30-31.

[38] Spânu 2004, 85-86, Fig. 1/7.

[39] Stângă 1992, 151-152, 154, Fig 2.

[40] Cele două cupe menționate de Popescu 1958, 186 au fost achiziționate de Muzeul Național de Antichități din București înaintea celui de al II-lea Război Mondial și ar putea fi identificate cu două dintre cupele publicate de Mărghitan 1976, 62, pl. XLIX.

[41] Garašanin 1954, 67, nr. 4880, pl. XLIV/10.

[42] Garašanin 1954, 67, nr. 4881, pl. XLIV/9, LIX/7 și nr. 4886, pl. XLIV/11, LIX/5.

[43] Medeleț 1974, 1976, 1977, 1993, 1995.

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benzi terminale ornamentate cu palmete și protome cu fibule linguriță în tezaurele de la Hetiur, Peteni și Sencrcuș, și mai ales descoperirea unei alte astfel de brățări spiralice în Bulgaria, la Malăk Porovec (okr. Isperih)[44]. Acestora li se mai poate adaugă și exemplarul cu proveniență incertă (Bulgaria de nord?) din colecția Božkov, descoperit poate și el pe teritoriul Bulgariei[45]. Difuziunea acestui tip de brățări spiralice în ținuturile dintre Dunăre și Masivul Stara Planina, dar și asocierile unor astfel de brățări cu fibule linguriță în tezaure din România sugerează posibilitatea circulației unor astfel de fibule și la sud de fluviu. Tot în acest sens, mai poate fi invocată și asocierea unor fibule linguriță la Vedea sau Remetea Mare cu fibule cu scut, un tip care iarăși cunoaște analogii la sud de Dunăre, la Akčar sau într-o altă localitate rămasă necunoscută din Bulgaria[46]. Cu alte cuvinte, fibulele linguriță sunt relativ contemporane cu o serie de piese specifice orfevreriei din Dacia, dar care au analogii și la sud de Dunăre. Prin urmare, afirmația hazardată a lui Aurel Rustoiu, potrivit căruia „faptul că aceste fibule lipsesc de pe malul drept al Dunării (zona Porților de Fier și Bulgaria), poate constitui un reper pentru cronologia lor"[47], își vădește inconsistența, tocmai din perspectiva identificării la sud de fluviu a unor tipuri de piese de orfevrerie care în tezaurele dacice se asociază cu fibule linguriță. Din păcate, argumentele afirmației mai sus citate nu ne-au fost prezentate, dar se poate bănui că autorul ei presupune închiderea oricărui contact cultural între cele două maluri ale Dunării în cursul secolului I p.Chr., odată cu extinderea autorității romane asupra malului drept al fluviului. Asupra acestui aspect voi reveni mai jos. Deocamdată, ar trebui reținut faptul că deși nu dispunem încă de dovada indubitabilă a descoperirii unor fibule linguriță pe teritoriul Bulgariei, o serie de conjuncturi sugestive indică posibilitatea ca astfel de exemplare să fi fost purtate la sfârșitul secolului I a.Chr. și în prima jumătate a secolului următor și în regunile dintre Haemus și Istru.

Pe lângă brățările spiralice de la Velika Vrbica și Malăk Porovec, sau fibula de la Akčar mai sus amintite, ar mai putea fi evocate alte câteva exemple care ilustrează difuziunea unor tipuri specifice descoperirilor din Dacia preromană și de la sud de Dunăre. Un exemplu este oferit de fibula cu noduri de argint descoperită după toate aparențele într-un mormânt de la Gorni Dăbnik[48], piesă care aparține unui tip specific inventarelor tezaurelor din spațiul intracarpatic[49]. Piesa de la Gorni Dăbnik, în măsura în care ar fi interpretată ca un însemn de rang, ilustrează un posibil contact între elitele celor două regiuni.

Tot din perspectiva unor strânse analogii formale între piese datate în Latène-ul târziu descoperite la nord și la sud de Dunăre mai poate fi invocată și centura cu pafta descoperită într-un mormânt de la Altimir[50]. Dacă paftaua propriu-zisă cunoaște numeroase analogii în situri atribuite culturii dacice (Popești, Cârlomănești, Sighișoara–Wietenberg ș.a.)[51], iată că și centura, care îi este atașată printr-o placă ale cărei extremități au fost îndoite pe revers și care este formată din verigi circulare unite între ele prin grupuri de zale răsucite, poate fi asemănată unor centuri provenind din descoperiri nord-dunărene (Clipicești, Fântânele, Tilișca)[52]. Astfel de corespondențe între piese a căror realizare presupunea un grad sporit de complexitate tehnologică sugerează contactele strânse cel puțin dintre meșterii orfevrii și bronzieri care activau și itinerau la sud și la nord de Dunăre în ajunul cuceririi romane.

Analogiile dintre descoperiri de epocă târzie Latène sitate de-o parte și de alta a Dunării nu se rezumă numai la piesele de metal, ci sunt ilustrate și de anumite categorii ceramice, așa cum sunt de exemplu cupele de factură locală cu decor în relief. În mod straniu, cercetarea bulgară a semnalat surpinzător de puține descoperiri de cupe cu decor în relief, atât de frecvente în siturile din Muntenia, precum cele de la Popești,

[44] Mikov 1957, 299, 302, Fig. 7.

[45] Marazov et alii 2005, 79, nr. 73.

[46] Popov 1922, 159-160, Fig. 149.

[47] Rustoiu 1997, 49.

[48] Kovaceva, Lazarova 1994, 25-28, Fig. 1-2. Rustoiu 1997, 236, Fig. 80/2. Fibula cu noduri de la Gorni Dăbnik nu este singura piesă de acest tip din Bulgaria. Un alt exemplar de bronz, cu locul de descoperire rămas din păcate necunoscut, este ilustrat în catalogul *Die Thraker* 2004, p. 302, nr cat. 285a. Un fragment de fibulă cu noduri din fier, descoperit în preajma Craiovei, mi-a fost semnalat de colegul D. Bondoc (Muz. Olteniei, Craiova).

[49] Horedt 1973, 134, Fig. 3; Rustoiu 1997, 167, Fig. 11; Spânu 2002, 97, Fig. 17-18.

[50] Nikolov 1972, 64-65, Fig. 12.

[51] Babeș 1983, 196-221; cf. Spânu 2004, 114-115.

[52] Clipicești: Mitrea 1972, 642, Fig. 4; Fântânele: Berciu 1939, 206, 219, Fig. 295, 1-2; Tilișca: Lupu 1989, 34, (mormântul 1, piesa 3), Fig. 8/2-16.

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Zimnicea, Cârlomăncşti, Crăsani sau Ocniţa[53] ş.a. Până acum a fost publicate adecvat o singură astfel de cupă de la Zgalevo, în timp ce alte piese similare, descoperite la Nikopol sau Batin au fost doar semnalate într-o lucrare semnată de doi autori români[54]. Contrastul dintre frecvenţa cupelor cu decor în relief de factură locală din sudul României şi raritatea acestor recipiente în relief în regiunile de nord ale Bulgariei este cu atât mai suspectă, cu cât sursele de inspiraţie ornamentală şi mai ales tehnologia confecţionării cupelor în mulaje îşi află origina în mediile meşteşugăreşti elenistice târzii. Se va fi răsfrânt influenţa elenistică exclusiv la nord de Dunăre, fără să contamineze mediile dintre Istru şi Haemus sau asistăm la un fenomen de o cu totul altă natură, şi anume, lipsa de interes manifestată de cercetarea bulgară pentru publicarea unor categorii de materiale ceramice databile în perioada târzie a Latène-ului? Aşa cum A. Vulpe şi M. Gheorghiţă au semnalat descoperirea de la Nikopol pe baza unei informaţii verbale oferite de M. Čičikova, la rândul meu îmi permit să reproduc aici informaţia potrivit căreia în depozitele muzeelor din ţara vecină îşi aşteaptă încă publicarea nenumărate materiale ceramice cu strânse analogii în siturile din Dacia preromană, printre acestea numărându-se şi numeroase cupe cu decor în relief de factură locală, întregi sau fragmentare[55]. Prin urmare, stadiul actual al informaţiilor edite referitoare la materialele ceramice de epocă târzie Latène realizate în regiunile de nord ale Bulgariei este mai degrabă înşelător şi nu permite corelarea adecvată a rezultatelor cercetărilor arheologice desfăşurate de-o parte şi de alta a Dunării. Totuşi, puţinele indicii de care dispunem până acum nu trebuie pierdute din vedere, deoarece, ele ne-ar putea călăuzi în cercetările viitoare.

Ar fi cu totul eronat să se considere că, sub aspect cultural, regiunile dintre Dunăre şi Munţii Balcani au constituit o periferie a spaţiului cultual dacic. Dimpotrivă, în regiunile de la nord şi mai ales nord-vest de masivul Stara Zagora, mai ales în regiunea Vraca[56], cercetarea arheologică a evidenţiat practicarea intensă a unor ritualuri funerare bine individualizate[57], care ne obligă să recunoaştem aici manifestarea a unei identităţi culturale şi rituale distincte în perioada de început a Latène-ului târziu, diferită de identitatea intracarpatică exprimată rareori prin practici funerare, dar adesea prin constituirea şi îngroparea de tezaure, ca şi prin ridicarea de centre fortificate pe înălţimi. Acum mai bine de trei decenii, Woźniak a reunit descoperirile funerare de la Dunărea Inferioară, datate la finele Latène-ului mijlociu şi în Latène-ul târziu sub denumirea de grupul „Padea – Panagjurski-Kolonii"[58], iar mai recent, Theodossiev a atribuit astfel de manifestări, poate cu mai puţină subtilitate, exclusiv triballilor[59]. Pe de altă parte, trebuie semnalat că o serie de tipuri de obiecte frecvente şi specifice inventarelor funerare aparţinând grupului Padea – Panagjurski-Kolonii au fost identificate însă şi în situri din Dacia preromană (de exemplu zăbalele de tip Werner XVI[60] sau pumnalele de tip sica[61] ş.a.), la fel cum o serie de piese specifice orfevreriei tezaurelor dacice, dar şi cupe cu decor în relief de factură locală se regăsesc în descoperiri de la sud de Dunăre. Prin urmare, aceste analogii şi corespondenţe ilustrează o relaţie de reciprocitate între două grupe culturale distincte din perioada târzie a Latène-ului – una ocupând culoarul Dunării inferioare (cu o concentrare sporită în regiunea Vraca) şi o alta în regiunile intracarpatice[62].

Acceptarea unei astfel de teze, aceea a unei relaţii bipolare între grupe individualizate atât regional, cât şi ritual, ar putea dezvălui fundalul cultural în care ar putea fi explicată posibila prezenţă a unei fibule linguriţă la sud de Dunăre. Dacă fibula recuperată în vama din Giurgiu provine într-adevăr din Bulgaria, atunci ea ar constitui indiciul pe baza căruia, la rândul său, tipul fibulelor linguriţă ar putea fi circumscris acelor forme de piese de port

[53] Popeşti: Casan Franga 1967, Vulpe, Gheorghiţă 1976; Zimnicea: Spânu 2006, 2007; Cârlomăneşti: Babeş 1975, 125-127; Crăsani: Conovici 1978; Ocniţa: Berciu 1981, 54-58 ş.a.

[54] Zgalevo: Čičikova 1952, 346, Fig. 352-353,Ončev 1959, 96-97, nr. 6, Fig. 5; Batin şi Nikopol: Vulpe, Gheorghiţă 1976, 177-179, nr. 2 şi 19.

[55] Informaţii oferite cu amabilitate de I. Pătraşcu şi D. Mândescu în urma unor călătorii de documentare în Bulgaria.

[56] Pentru cartări expresive: Woźniak 1974, 76, harta 2; 1976, 389, Fig. 2; Zirra 1976, 179, Fig. 3; Spânu 2004, 108, Fig. 6 şi 129, Fig. 11.

[57] Woźniak 1974, 69-70; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 86-88; Theodossiev, 2000, 42; Spânu 2004, 106-107.

[58] Woźniak 1974, 69-70.

[59] Theodossiev 2000, 71-91. Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 87-88 evită o determinare etnică precisă şi consideră înmormântările Latène târzii de la Dunărea de Jos ca o „expresie târzie a mercenariatului".

[60] Werner 1988, 98-99, pl. 71 B.

[61] Woźniak 1974, 99-102; Rustoiu 2001, 181-182.

[62] Spânu 2004, 128-131.

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şi podoabă care au fost implicate în relațiile culturale dintre comunitățile sud-dunărene, nord-dunărene şi intracarpatice în perioada care a premers extinderii Provinciei Moesia până la litoralul pontic.

5. CADRUL CULTURAL ŞI ISTORIC AL PREZENȚEI UNEI FIBULE LINGURIȚĂ LA SUD DE DUNĂRE

Din punct de vedere istoric, faza în care au fost folosite fibulele linguriță – ultimele 2-3 decenii a.Chr. şi prima jumătate a secolului următor – este ulterioară momentului de dezarticulare a stăpânirii regelui Burebista şi ar putea fi sincroinizată aproximativ perioadei în care teritoriul dintre Haemus şi Istru, mai întâi liber, a fost mai apoi subordonat autorității regilor traci clientelari Romei, probabil la inițiativa şi cu sprijinul puterii romane. Conținutul inventarului de la Poiana – Movila Hârtop sugerează însă că folosirea fibulelor linguriță pare să se fi prelungit până în cea de a doua treime a secolul I p.Chr., deci până în perioada în care autoritatea romană s-a instalat ferm de-a lungul întregului curs al Dunării Inferioare. Din perspectiva demersului de față, este mai puțin important dacă înglobarea malului tracic al Dunării (inclusiv Dobrogea) la Provincia Moesia a avut loc în anul 46 p.Chr. sau dacă această extindere a avut loc mai târziu, în contextul acțiunilor lui Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus sau în cursul domniei lui Vespasian[63]. În prima jumătate a secolului I p.Chr. posibila receptare la sud de Dunăre a unui produs specific meşteşugului în metal din Dacia nu era condiționată încă de constituirea unui limes roman sau a unei rețele de vămi. Pe de altă parte, putem bănui că integrarea comunităților din ținuturile Moesiei răsăritene în Imperiu nu implica neapărat abandonarea tuturor elementelor de port tradiționale. Cu alte cuvinte, folosirea unor forme locale de podoabe sau accesorii vestimentare nu era neapărat condiționată de anexarea politică a teritoriilor sud-dunărene[64].

Nu trebuie pierdut din vedere faptul că până la organizarea limesului, Dunărea nu a constituit o graniță politică şi culturală impenetrabilă sau un principiu de delimitare etnică[65]. Dimpotrivă, zona corespunzătoare cursului inferior al fluviului reprezenta mai degrabă un spațiu al contactelor interculturale[66]. Circulația riveranilor de pe un mal pe celălalt al fluviului pare să fi fost intensă încă în perioade mai îndepărtate decât epoca în care erau folosite fibulele linguriță, aşa cum o indică unele surse literare, de exemplu Arian, Anabasis I.4.4. Traversarea Dunării de către Burebista (Strabo VII.3.11, IGB I^2 13), pătrunderile geților şi sarmaților în preajma cetății Tomis (Ovidiu, Tristia II.191-192, IV.10.109-110) şi chiar strămutările de populație atribuite lui Sextus Aelius Catus (Strabo VII.3.10) sau, mai târziu, lui Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, când autoritatea romană controla deja ferm culoarul Dunării Inferioare (CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 986, r. 7-13) – toate aceste conjuncturi, în ciuda particularismului lor istoric, ar putea fi interpretate, într-o perspectivă cultural-antropologică, mai degrabă ca expresii ale mobilității comunităților umane de-o parte şi de alta a Dunării la răspântia dinte ere. Intr-un astfel de context cultural-istoric este întru totul plauzibil ca prin mecanisme, astăzi mai greu de desluşit, poate chiar independente de evenimentele politice ale acelei epoci, o serie de piese de port şi podoabă, dar poate şi de tehnologii să fi fost lesne transmisibile dintr-o parte în alta a Dunării.

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[63] Pentru sincronizarea extinderii Moesiei până în Pont cu transformarea în anul 46 p.Chr. a Traciei în provincie pledează Pippidi 1967, 375-376 şi Avram 1999, 56-57. Corespondența adresată histrienilor de către guvernatorii Moesiei începând cu anul 46 p.Chr. şi mai ales atestarea unei vămi a malului trac al Dunării (IMS I 67-68) încă în timpul lui Nero (cca 60 p.Chr.) constituie argumentele centrale ale tezei datării timpurii a extinderii Moesiei spre răsărit. Pentru teza anexării târzii a Dobrogei, Suceveanu 1991, 255-276, cu literatura mai veche.

[64] Analogii în acest sens sunt numeroase în regiunile alpine sau în Pannonia, unde la începutul epocii imperiale, elitele locale au continuat să folosească anumite elemente de port de tradiție preromană (Garbsch 1965, 4; Martin-Kilcher 1993, 187-200; 1998, 225).

[65] Woźniak 1974, 130.

[66] Spânu 2004, 130-131.

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VETERANS OF THRACIAN ORIGIN IN THE *AUXILIA* OF ROMAN IMPERIAL ARMY AND THEIR SOCIAL MOBILITY

MIHAIL ZAHARIADE

Key words: ala, cohors, regiment, veteran, province, military diploma, inscription, mobility, Roman society, Roman army, origin, recruitment, Thrace, Lower Moesia, Dacia, arca, service.

Abstract. Besides the veterans from other categories of military units in the Roman army, those in the auxiliary regiments represent one of the most important social groups in the Roman Empire. The veterans of Thracian origin, documented in a significant number in the military diplomas and inscriptions are the object of an analysis dealing with their social mobility and collective mentalities. The epigraphic documents indicate the explicit preference of a considerable number of Thracian veterans to return to their homelands if they served in the army in remote provinces or to settle, after the discharge, particularly in Thrace proper, Moesia and Dacia, provinces with population highly related linguistically and culturally.

Cuvinte cheie: ala, cohors, regiment, veteran, provincie, diploma militara, inscriptie, mobilitate, societate romana, armata romana, origine, recruitare, Thracia, Moesia Inferior, Dacia, regiune, serviciu militar.

Rezumat. Alături de veteranii din celelalte categorii de unităţi militare din armata romană, cei din trupele auxiliare reprezintă una din cele mai importante categorii sociale ale societăţii din Imperiul Roman. Veteranii de origine tracă din trupele auxiliare documentaţi, în număr semnificativ, în diplome militare şi inscripţii, fac obiectul unei analize din punct de vedere al mobilităţii lor sociale şi al mentalităţilor colective. Se constată, în mod repetat, preferinţa unui număr considerabil de veterani traci de a reveni în ţinuturile natale în cazul în care au efectuat serviciul militar în provincii mai îndepărtate sau de a se aşeza, în perioada de după eliberare, în Moesia şi Dacia, provincii cu populaţie îndeaproape înrudită lingvistic şi cultural cu Tracia.

Through its status, the veterans' corps proved to have been an elite segment with a particular impact on the 1st-3rd century Roman society. The social profile of the community of these *dimissi honesta missione* owed much to their origin, mobility, and changes in their cultural pattern following service in the army. Ethnic groups were integrated in large number into the Roman Imperial army and their existence as active soldiers, NCO's or veterans after their discharge produced considerable number of epigraphic evidence, enough to generate a significant picture of their presence and role in the social mobility in the Roman Empire[1].

With 12 cavalry and 26 infantry auxiliary regiments, Thracians provide one of the best examples of the massiveness of an initial recruitment among national groups in the Roman Empire. The substantial presence in the Roman army and particularly their social behaviour as veterans after their discharge towards the preservation of their affection and links with their home-land seems one of the most remarkable, if not specific features of this conservative populace. This intimate attitude, together with their social mobility and maintenance of their personal names, explains much in what degree the large scale and greatly debated phenomenon of Romanization acted as an effective vector of the cultural transformation of the Thracians.

The list below contains the known veterans (Thracian and of other origin) in the regiments labelled *Thracum*, as well as Thracian veterans in the regiments of non-Thracian origin identified in the epigraphic sources (military diplomas and inscriptions)[2].

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[1] On the veterans in the auxiliary regiments of the Roman army see in general: Mommsen 1884, 1-437; Kraft 1951; Forni 1953; Mann 1953, 496-500; Forni 1974, 339-391; Brunt 1974, 90-115; Mann 1983.

[2] The sign * marks the Thracian origin of the veteran.

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I. VETERANS IN THE CAVALRY REGIMENTS OF THRACIAN ORIGIN

A. ALAE THRACUM

P. Aelius Primianus. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 16.02.255; Fs: Sour el Ghozlan.
Remained
CIL VIII, 9045=ILS 2766; Pflaum 1960, 165 no. 19; Leveau 1973, 165 no. 19; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 76.
Aelius Quartius (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Traismauer.
Remained
CIL III, 5655.
P. Aelius Veranus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: Hadrian. Fs: Hantos-Kishantospuszta.
Remained
Vágó 1970, 129 no. 462=AE 1971, 350; Lörincz 2001, 212 no.177.
C. Attulus (?) (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs: Aleppo.
IGLS 1, 181.
***Aurelius Catus** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 213. Fs: Dunapentele.
Remained
AE 1910, 138; RIU 1183; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 629; Intercissa I no. 24; Barkoczi 1964, 349 no. 144/11; Fitz 1972, 100 no. 12; Lörincz 2001, 213 no.183.
Aurelius Iulius (ala I T
hracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Nagytétény.
Remained
CIL III, 10378 (=3395); Kraft 1952, 161 no. 631; Barkóczi 1964, 347 no. 106/4; Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 190.
***Aurelius Lipor** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 222-235. Fs: Dunapentele.
Remained
CIL III, 3393; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 633; Barkóczi 1964, 347 no. 106/5; Fitz 1983, 111 no. 435; Lörincz 2001, 214 no.186.
M. Aurelius Lucanus (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum) Date: 198-211/222-235; Fs: Acs.
Remained.
CIL III, 11020=RIU 64; Barkóczi 1951, 55 no. 76; 1964, 55 no. 81; Fitz 1983, 112 no. 444; Lörincz 2001, 219 no. 200.
Aurelius Potitus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs: Hohenstein.
Remained
CIL III, 4834.
Aurelius Valerianus (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Almásfüzitő.
Remained
RIU 707; Barkóczi 1951, 56-57 no. 114; 1964, 339 no. 91/7; Lörincz 2001, 219 no. 201.
C. Caesius Marcellus. (ala II Augusta Thracum).Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs: Cherchel.
Remained
CIL 8, 9358; Leveau 1973, 163 no. 13.
M. Cocceius Valens (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs: Membidj.
Remained
Jary 1982, 99 no. 5; AE 1982, 901
Cunius Aqui, (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin: *Isaurus*. Date: 30. 04. 129. Fs: Turkey.
Remained
RMD 34; Lörincz 2001,160 no. 20.
Q. Granius Felix. (ala II Augusta Thracum).Date: 262; Fs: Cherchel.
Remained
CIL VIII, 9378=21035; Leveau 1973, 168 no. 21; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 77.
Gusulae Doqui (ala I Thracum victrix). Origin: Thrax. Date: 27.09.79. Fsu.
Weiss 2004, 239-254.
Iulius Valerius (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: second half of the 2nd century-3rd century. Fs: Cherchel.
Remained
CIL VIII, 9380; Leveau 1973, 168 no. 22; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 78.
C. Iulius Agricola (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Traismauer.
Remained
CIL III, 5655.

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***C. Iulius Lupercus** (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin: *domo Sala*. Date: 180; Fs: Szöny.
Remains
CIL III, 4321=RIU 560; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 674; Mocsy 1959, 246 164/19; Barkóczi 1964, 55 no. 81; Lörincz 2001, 218 no. 197.
M. Marius Valens, (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Origin: *Galata*. Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Köln.
Remained
CIL XIII, 8306.
Octavius Vi[...] (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 139. Fsu.
Remained
CIL 16, 175; AE 1955, 17; Nagy 1956, 15-71; Lörincz 2001, 160 no. 21.
Oxetius Naevionis, Eraviscus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin: *Eraviscus*. Date: 5 05. 167. Fs: Óbuda.
Remained
CIL XVI, 123; Lörincz 2001, 166 no. 33.
***Quelse Dolae** (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 12 May 91. Fs: Suhozem.
Reversus
AE 1961, 319; RMD 4; Botusharova 1958, 317-321.
[..]**us Rammi** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Date: 4 May-13 July 105. Fs: Middlewich.
Remained
RMD 8=RIB 2401.3.
***Romesta Rescenti** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: *Spiurus*. Date: 18 June 54. Fs: Sarsânlar.
Reversus
CIL 16, 3.
Serpodius Epaphrae (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Date: 7 March 160. Fsu: Reversus
RMD 173.
***C. Sertorius Cesivecetrizis** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: *Besideltus*. Date: 1st–2nd century. Fs: Dervesiani.
Reversus
Samsaris 1993, 235 no. 908.
***Seuthes** (ala Gallorum et Thracum veterana). Origin: *Scaenus*. Date: 12 May 91. Fs: Gradishte.
Reversus
Gerov 1959, 210; RMD 5.
Ulpius Cives (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: Trajan. Fs: Mannersdorf.
Remained
Ubl 1974, 422; Lörincz 2001, 211 no. 174.
Ulpius Crescens (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs: Zucchabar.
Remained
CIL VIII, 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.
***Valens Bititralis** (ala I Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs: Vechten.
Remains
CIL XIII, 8818; Fol 1969, 245 no. 1022; Speidel 1976, 347-348= 1984, 99; Le Glay 1980, 46.
Valerius Emeritus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Budapest.
CIL 3, 10432 (=3465); Mocsy 1959 251 no. 185/47; Lörincz 2001, 212 no. 180.
Valerius Valens (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Nagyteteny.
Remained
Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 188.
CIL XVI, 3.
***L. Valerius Volsenus** (alae Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 18 June 54. Fs: Sarsânlar.
Reversus ?
CIL XVI, 3.
L. Vettius Valens (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: second half of the 2nd century. Fs: Alexandria.
Remained
CIL III, 14139.

B. ALAE NON-THRACUM

***Aelius Mucatralis** (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum). Date: Hadrian-Antoninus Pius. Fs: Histria.
Remained.
Suceveanu 1998, 109-117 no. 1.

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Aurelius Bassus (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: ca. 252. Fs: Qal'at el Mudik.
AE 1987, 955; Balty 1988, 103; Lörincz 2001, 185 no. 91.
***Aurelius Cotus** (ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Ruse.
Remained
AE 1940, 34.
***Aurelius Bithus** (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: 3 01.240. Fsu.
Remained
Eck, Roxan 1998, 100-106; Lörincz 2001, 303 no. 501.
***Aurelius Dolens** (I Ulpia Contariorum). Origin: *domo Thracia*. Date: ca. 200-250. Fs: Györ.
Remained
Balty, van Rengen, 1993, 47 pl. 21; Lörincz 2001, 193 no. 115.
***Aurelius Doriso** (I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: ca. 160-230. Fs: Györ.
Remained
CIL III, 4369=RIU 260; Kraft 1951 146 no. 257; Barkóczi 1964, 338 no. 79/1; Lörincz 2001, 191 no. 107.
***Aurelius Teres** (ala I Asturum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Sofia.
Reversus
IDRE II 353
***Aurelius Teres** (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Györ.
Remained
CIL 3, 4370=RIU 262; Kraft 1951 146 no. 258a; Barkóczi 1964, 338 no. 79/3; Lörincz 2001, 191 no. 108.
***Bithus Solae** (numerus equitum Illyricorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 13.12 140. Fs: Palamarca.
Reversus
RMD 39; IDR I, 13; AE 1962, 264; Gerov 1959, 196-210.
*[...]**Biti** (ala Siliana). Date: 21. 07. 164. Fs: Buciumi.
Remained
IDR I, 21.
***Bruzenus Delsasi** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: *Thrax*: Date: 12. 05. 91. Fsu.
Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no. 1.
Reversus (?)
***Cardentus Biticenthi** (ala Veterana Gallica). Origin: *Disdivu*[...]. Date: 12 05. 91. Fsu. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no 2.
***Cersus Dentarsadi** (ala I Brittonum); Date 71; Fsu.
Eck, Pangerl 2003, 220-228
Reversus (?).
M. Cocceius Dassius (ala Noricorum). Date: after 70; Fs: Koln.
Remained
CIL XIII, 8243=ILS 9270; Kraft 1951, 155, no. 466; Alföldi 1968, 180 no. 46.
***Flavius Bassus** (?). Date: late Ist century. Fs: Glava Panega.
Reversus
Katsarov 1938 no. 359.
***T. Flavius Celsus** (ala Scubulorum). Origin: *cives Sappaus*. Date: late 1st century. Fs: Wiesbaden.
Remained
CIL 13, 7580; Le Glay 1980, 45 no. 15.
Gisusetes Heptasea (ala Praetoria Singularium). Origin: Thracus. Date: 88. Fsu.
Eck 2003, 229-233
***Heptapor Isi** (ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 8.07. 158; Fs:
Cristeşti.
Remained.
CIL XVI, 108; IDR I, 16.
* **[...]lus Iresi** (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 1.06.125. Fs: Bulgaria.
Remained
AE 1997, 1772; Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203.
***Meticus Solae** (ala I Asturum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 14.08. 99. Fs: Plovdiv.
Reversus.
CIL XVI, 45.
***Sitalis Cultra** (ala Augusta Gallorum Civium Romanorum). Date: 14.10.109. Fs: Pernik Reversus.
RMD 84.

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***Sola Mucatri** (ala I Tungrorum Frontonianan). Date: 2nd century. Fs: Ilişua.
Remained
CIL III, 787.
***Valerius Herculanus** (ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum). Origin: *vicus Rami*[...]. Date: 2nd century. Fs: Gârliciu.
Remained
ISM 5, 117.
[...] (?). Date: 80-84. Fs: Bulgaria.
Reversus
AE 1997, 1772; Eck, Roxan 1997, 228-229.

II. VETERANS IN THE THRACIAN INFANTRY REGIMENTS (COHORTES)

A. COHORTES THRACUM

M. Antonius Timus (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Origin: *Hierapolis*. Date: 29.06. 120; Fs: Ritopek.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 67.
Aurelius Salmanes (cohors III Augusta Thracum), Date: 26. 05. 227. Fs: Dura Europos.
Dura P. 101; Welles, 1937, 261-284; Rep. VII/VIII 433-438 no. II; The Excavations at Dura Europos. Final report V, part I (Ann Perkins ed.), New Haven 1959, 134-141 no. 26 Lower Text 29.
C. Cassius Longus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Ravna.
Remained
CIL III, 14575; IMS **3**/2, 39; ILIug. 1299
Culsus Atedumni (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Origin: *Eraviscus*. Date: 8.02. 157. Fs: Dunakömlöd.
Remained
RMD 103; AE 1983, 745; Visy 1982, 60-62; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 27.
***Dolens Sublusi** (cohors VI Thracum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 12.07.96.Fs: Kostolać.
Remained
RMD 6; Dusanić, Vasić, 1977, 291.
***Durises Bithi** (cohors IIII Thracum eq.) Origin: *Thrax*. Date: Jan/Febr. 80. Fs: Kamensko.
Reversus
CIL 16, 158=AE 1948, 56; Kraft 1951, 191 no. 1903; Alföldi 1968, 164 no. 2.
*[...]**inus Dinit[ra]lis Tarsae** (cohors I Thracum Syriaca equitata). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: late 1st – early 2nd century. Fs: Ravna.
Reversus
CIL III, 14579=AE 1901, 17; ISM **3**/2, 37; ILIug 3, 1315.
[...**iu**]**s Gaius** (cohors I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum). Date: 150-250. Fsu.
AE 1964, 12; RIU 211; Mocsy 1964, 223-224; Lörincz 2001, 292 no. 460.
Iulius Demetrius (cohors III Augusta Thracum), Date: 26. 05. 227. Fs: Dura Europos.
Dura P. 101; Welles, 1937, 261-284; Rep. VII/VIII 433-438 no. II; 221; The Excavations at Dura Europos. Final report V, part I (Ann Perkins ed.), New Haven 1959, 134-141 no. 26, Upper Text 1; Lower Text 6.
***C. Iulius Bitus** (cohors II Gemella Thracum). Date: 1st century. Fs: Carthage.
Remained
CIL VIII, 14281=25364; Pflaum 1978, 63.
Sex. Iulius Primus (cohors I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum). Date: 16. 06. 138. Fs: Tótvásony.
CIL XVI, 84; Lörincz 2001, 170 no. 43.
[...]mus Na [...](cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Date: Sept/Oct. 152. Fs: Dunakömlöd.
Remained
RMD 167; Visy 1991, 160-165; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 26.
Monus Tessimari (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Origin: *Eraviscus*. Date: 8.02. 157. Fs: Dunakömlöd.
Remained
RMD 102; AE 1983, 785; Visy 1982, 62-65; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 28.
Plutio Tithoeti (cohors II Thracum). Origin: *Coptus*. Date: 23.03. 179. Fs: Egypt.
Remained
RMD 185; AE 1990, 1023; Römer 1990, 137-153.

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L. Septimius Tatulo (cohors I Thracum cquitata). Date: ca. 200. Fs: Bölcskc.
Rcmained
CIL III, 3319=10299=RIU 1018; Kraft 1951, 189 no. 1863a; Barkóczi 1964, 350 no. 145/2; Lörincz 2001, 293 no. 465.
Septimius Ursulinus (cohors I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs: Acs-Vaspuszta.
Remained
AE 1967, 380=RIU 641; Gabler 1967, 194-196; Lörincz 2001, 291 no. 458.
Q. Sergius Paulus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs: Ravna.
Remained
CIL III, 8262; ISM 3/2, 38; ILJug. 1306.
***Seuthes Traibithi** (cohors II Thracum). Origin: *Coiloleticus*. Date: 13. 05. 86. Fs: Turea.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 33.
Sextus Iulius Primus (cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum). Origin: *Trevirus*. Date: 16. 06.138. Fs: Tótvásony.
Remained
CIL XVI, 84; Lörincz 2001, 170 no. 43.
Ulpius Crescens (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs: Zucchabar.
CILVIII, 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.
Q. Valerius Germanus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs: Ravna.
Remained
AE 1910, 95; ISM 3/2, 40; ILJug. 1309;
*[...] **Mocazeni f.** (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 12 May 91. Fsu.
Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3.

B. COHORTES NON-THRACUM

***M. Antonius Rufus** (cohors II Gallorum). Origin: *Abrittenus*. Date: 99. Fs: Oltina.
Remained
CIL XVI, 44.
***Aulenus Her**[...] (cohors II Gallorum Pannoniorum). Date: 23.02. 144. Fs: Nova Zagora.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 90=IDR **1**, 14.
***Aurelius Tara** (cohors III Campestris). Date: 200-250. Fs: Prahovo.
Remained
ILIug II 461; Janakievski 1966, 387-388.
***Bithus Seuthi** (cohors Musulamiorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 07.11.88. Fs: Muhovo.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 35.
***Clagissa Clagissae** (cohors II Mattiacorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 28.03. 138. Fs: Tărnovo.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 83.
***Cocae Tyru** (numerus equitum Illyricorum). Origin: *Sardica*. Date: 19.07.146. Fsu.
Remained
RMD 269.
* [...]**cti** ([...]um Civium Romanorum). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 109; Fs: Valentia Banasa.
Remained
CIL XVI, 162.
***C. Iulius Valens** (cohors IIII Gallorum). Origin: *Trallis*. Date: 19.07. 114. Fs: Pisarevo.
Remained
RMD 14.
***Mucatralis Bithi** (cohors I Brittonum milliaria). Date: 21 07. 164. Fs: Căşei.
Remained
IDR 1, 20=AE 1959, 37.
***Mucapor Eptacentis** (cohors I Aquitanorum veterana). Origin: *Tarax*. Date: 29.10. 90.Fs: Mainz.
Remained.
CIL XVI, 36.

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The chance of discoveries has certainly its role in shaping out the picture of this important social body. It must be underlined that relatively large incidence of mentions does not leave too many doubts as far as the veterans' options after the discharge.

Fifty seven of the total of eighty four individuals known in MD and inscriptions as veterans coming from the Thraco-Moesian area are obviously Thracian in origin. The two essential criteria to identify their unquestionable Thracian provenance in the auxiliary regiments labelled *Thracum* or in those of other origin were their names and sometimes their religious beliefs.

The impact of the social mobility of the veterans on the shaping up of the local communities in different provinces appears of major importance. This type of social behaviour had a significant impact on their maintenance as group mentality.

Of the total of thirty nine 1st-3rd century MDs which record veterans of Thracian origin, only twenty three bear the indication of a certain find spot while sixteen are labelled as 'find spot unknown (f.s.u.)'. Although the f. s. u. cases disclose also highly important information as to the date of recruitment, names, origin, social status, families, and regiments, from the social mobility perspective their significance remains rather reduced as value. Usually, these documents of dual character, private and official – a copy being always displayed at Rome – were carried and remained with the discharged veteran in the province he chose to settle, the movement of the document logically following the individual's.

Table 1

Military diplomas with find spot unknown granted to the veterans of Thracian origin

Cerso Dentarasadi	Ala I Brittonum	Eck 2003, 220-228 (71)	Thrax
Gusulae Doqui	Ala I Thracum Victrix	Weiss,2004, 239-246 (79)	Thrax
Gisusetes Heptasi	Ala Praetoria Singulariorum	Eck 2003, 229-233 (88)	Thrax
Bithus[...] iae	AlaPraetoria Singulariorum	Weiss 1997, 229-231 (88)	Thrax
Tharsa	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 259-262 (90)	
Thavus Cassiporis	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 216-219 (90)	Thrax
[...] Genimoli	Cohors III Thracum Syriaca	RMD 214 (91)	Thrax
Lucius Satur[...]	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Mihailovich, Donald, 2002, 225 (97)	
Cocae Tyru	Numerus Equitum Illyricorum	RMD 269 (114)	Sardica
Ulpius M[...]	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	RMD 236 (126)	Bessus
[..Bi]thus	Ala VII Phrygum	Weiss 1997, 256-259 (157-158)	
[Aelius Bi]thus	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	Eck, Roxan1998, 95-112 (240)	
[?][...]olus	?	ILD 17 (122)	Bessus
Bruzenus Delsasi	Ala Veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no.1 (91)	Thrax
Cardentus Biticenthi	Ala Veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no.2 (91)	Disdiv[...]
[...] Mocazeni	Cohors I Thracum milliaria	Eck, Pangerl 2006(1), 219-221 no.2 (91)	Thrax
[...]		Eck, Pangerl 2006(2), 185-191 (158)	Densela

The options of the veterans after they finished their service were either to remain in the province they had previously served or to go back to their country of origin.

Certainly, the choice for a place to live for the rest of their life was free and the availabilities of the administration of land granting, until Hadrian's reign, given the ever growing shortage of organized distributed land or liquidities after that date, must have played an important role in the decisions and motivation of each veteran of the Roman army. In the particular case of the veterans of Thracian origin the case discloses another significant aspect as to whether the affective connections of the veterans with their homes were influenced by the attractive land or cash granting, or the economic realities caused an increasing mobility, while the "patriotism" faded away in front of the pragmatism and material necessities.

The following tables show the over-all picture for each province in which veterans of Thracian origin are recorded. Commentaries will pin down the trends of the social mobility and consequences for the establishment of provincial communities of veterans and their families, as well as the attitudes of the individuals towards the two alternatives, the economic resorts, or the attachment for their homeland.

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Table II

Vctcrans of Thracian origin dischargcd from auxiliary rcgimcnts in Syria and Judca

Gisusctes Hcptasi	ala Praetoria Singulariorum	Eck 2003, 229-233; f.s.u (88)	Thrax
Bithus Scuthi	cohors Musulamiorum	CIL 16, 36; Muhovo (88)	Bessus
Bithus[…] iae	ala Praetoria Singulariorum	Weiss 1997, 229-231; f.s.u. (88)	Thrax
Quclsa Dolae	ala III Augusta Thracum	RMD 4; Suhozem (91)	Thrax
[…] Genimoli	cohors III Thracum Syriaca	RMD 214; f.s.u. (91)	Thrax
[..Bi]thus	ala VII Phrygum	Weiss 1997, 256-259; f.s.u. (157-158)	
C.Sertorius Cesicevetricis	ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana	Samsaris 1993, 235; Dervcsiani (1st c.)	
Seuthes Traibithi	cohors II Thracum	CIL 16, 33; Turea (86)	Coiloleticus
Bruzenus Delsasi	Ala Veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no.1; f.s.u. (91)	Thrax
Cardentus Biticenthi	Ala Veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no.2; f.s.u. (91)	Disdiv[…]
[…] Mocazeni	Cohors I Thracum milliaria	Eck, Pangerl 2006(1), 219-221 no.2; f.s.u. (91)	Thrax
[…]	VII Phrygum	Eck,Pangerl 2006(2), 185-191f.s.u. (158)	Densela

Commentary. Syria and Judea displays the greatest number of auxiliary regiments of Thracian origin in the 1st century, a traditional presence since Augustus' time.

Nevertheless, the military diplomas yield clear evidence that the Thracian veterans from auxiliary regiments constantly and in great number abandoned these provinces in the 1st century. It is quite surprising that none of the 1st century military diplomas granted to Thracian veterans in auxilia have been either found or reveal a firm find spot in Syria/Syria Palestina or Judea. A significant number was discovered outside these provinces, while many have find spot unknown. The situation did not change in the 2nd century when out of the known military diplomas granted to the Thracian soldiers in the auxiliary regiments none are reported to have been certainly found in these lands. It is true that the circumstances are fortuitous and new finds in the future could create a breach in the present day view on the find spot of the Syrian military diplomas.

The evidence of these imperial constitutions for Syria, Judea (until 138), and Arabia (after 106) indicate so far a trend noticeable at least in the 1st century. The greatest majority of the Thracian veterans preferred to rather return to their homelands than to remain in the area. None of the Thracian soldiers recorded in *ala I Augusta Thracum* in three inscriptions at Djerach were veterans and all seem to have died during the service[3].

One might witness a certain unenthusiastic attitude of the Thracian veterans from *auxilia* as to the opportunity of settling in these regions. The aridity of the soil and the reduced opportunities of lucrative activities in agriculture, the excessive hot climate for individuals used to a temperate climate, the non-adaptation to another type of urban life of the members of rural conservative communities from which they came, might be evidence for an unenthusiastic stance as to live in the social and economic environment of the Eastern provinces after their discharge. The epigraphic evidence of major veterans' communities living in the settlements around the auxiliary forts is discouraging few, if at all, and comes only from late 2nd – early 3rd century[4]. A Thracian individual, *Bessos*, thought to be a veteran from an auxiliary regiment, settled in or around Jericho[5]. C. Attulus, from *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* recorded at Aleppo in an uncertain context has no blatant sign of having been a veteran, but rather an active soldier engaged with his unit in one of the conflicts with Parthians[6].

Veterans' communities in the Eastern provinces originated from the Imperial foundations in early Principate[7], but the statistics show most of the 1st and 2nd century origin of the recruits drawn from the local

[3] *Cotelses Eptacenti f.* and *Toutenes Eptacenti f.*; CIL III, 14159[1]; =IGR III, 1374=AE 1899, 27=1900, 159; *Doritses Tarsi f.*; AE 1930, 89.

[4] Samsaris 1990 p. 16-19.

[5] Samsaris 1990 p. 17.

[6] 6. IGLS **I**, 181

[7] Mann 1983, 41-44 and tab 26.

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environment and none among Thracians. The only remarkable exception is *legio II Parthica* created by Septimius Severus and massively supplied with Thracian recruits documented in a considerable amount in the 3rd century in Syria[8].

The epigraphic evidence for the Eastern provinces shows clearly that neither urban nor rural were preferred environments for the development of any sizable Thracian veteran communities or settlements.

Obviously, one must not eliminate *a priori* the existence of some individuals or even Thracian groups in Syria, Judea, or Arabia, only on the ground that they are not recorded in inscriptions. If so, they certainly preferred to have settled rather in towns than in bare rural areas of military character.

Table III

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Moesia

?	?	Weiss 1997, 228-229; Bulgaria (79/87)	Thrax
Dolens Sublusi	Cohors VI Thracum	RMD 6; Kostolac (96)	Bessus
Lucius Satur[...]	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Mihailovich, Donald, 2002, 225-228; f.s.u. 97)	
Meticus Solae	Ala I Asturum	CIL 16, 45; Plovdiv (99)	Bessus
M. Antonius Rufus	Cohors II Gallorum	CIL 16, 44; Oltina (99)	Abrettenus
[...] us Iresi	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203; Bulgaria (125)	Bessus
Clagissa Clagissae	Cohors II Mattiacorum	CIL 16, 83; Târnovo (138)	Bessus
Aelius Mucatralis	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Suceveanu 1998, 109; Histria (mid 2nd c.)	
Valerius Herculanus	Ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum	ISM V 117; Gârliciu (late 2nd c.)	Vicus Rami[...]
Aurelius Cotus	Ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum	AE 1940, 34; Ruse (200-250)	
Aurelius Tara	Cohors III Campestris	ILlug. 461; Prahovo (200-250)	
Aurelius Teres	Ala I Asturum	IDRE II 353; Sofia(200-250)	
[...]inus Dini[tra]lis Tarsa[...]es	Cohors I Thracum Syriaca	IMS III/2 no. 37; Ravna (late 1st c.)	

Commentary. Auxiliary regiments from Lower Moesia contained massively recruits from the Thraco-Moesian area. Thrace and Moesia were the main source for the supply of Danubian auxiliary forces and even legions[9]. The bulk of evidence of the known discharged individuals comes more from the eastern area of Lower Moesia, where the concentration of regiments is obvious particularly after the conquest of Dacia (106)[10]. Although epigraphic data are still scarce, recent finds show indirectly constant supply with fresh contingents by the end of the 1st century (MDs from 97-99), at the eve of the military conflict with the Dacian kingdom. *Ala I Asturum*, *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*, and *cohors II Gallorum* appear to have been garrisoned in Lower Moesia while *cohors VI Thracum* and *I Thracum Syriaca* had been dispatched in Upper part of the province in the last quarter of the 1st century[11]. All late 1st century military diplomas are of type II D (*quina et vicena plurave stipendia meruerant*), which indicates the slight prolongation beyond the normal years of service, likely caused either by the war with Sarmatians in 92 on middle Danube (the constitution of 96), or a certain state of threat on the Lower Danube (the constitutions of 96, 97). Tarsa, who served 28 years, way beyond the limits of service, could have been part of the old experienced contingents kept few more years under standards at the middle Danube.

The 2nd century military diplomas of 125 and 138 are of type III D (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis*), but shows also a longer service under the regimental standards.

[8] On the composition of the *legio II Parthica* see Forni 1953, 97-99; 219; Mann 1983, 144-151 tab. 25, 25a and 26.

[9] For recruitment in auxiliary regiments in the Balkan provinces see Gerov 1950-1952, 17-121; for the legions: Forni 1953, 91-94; 97-99; Mann 1983, 36-39 and tab. 21 and 22.

[10] Aricescu 1977, 78-105; Beneš 1978, 68-73 and tab III.

[11] Beneš 1978, 52-53; Petrović 1995, in: ISM 3/2, 44; Matei Popescu 2001-2002, 227-229.

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Table IV

Vctcrans of Thracian origin dischargcd from auxiliary rcgimcnts in Dacia

Cocae Tyru	NumerusEquitum Illyricorum	RMD 269; f.s.u. (114)	Sardica
Bithus Solac,	NumerusEquitum Illyricorum	RMD39; Palamartsa (140)	Bessus
Aulenus Hcr[...]	cohors II Gallorum	CIL 16, 90; Nova Zagora (144)	
Hcptapor Isi	Ala I Gallorum ct Bosporanorum	CIL 16, 108; Cristeşti (158)	Bessus
[? B]iti	ala Siliana	IDR I 21; Buciumi (164)	
Mucatralis Bithi	cohors I Brittonum Illyricorum	RMD 63; Căşei (164)	
Sola Mucatri	Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana	CIL III 787 (2nd century)	
[?][...]olus	?	ILD 17; f.s.u. (122)	Bessus

Commentary. Dacian provinces display a number of eight Thracian veterans known thus far[12]. Except one case, they are all recorded in military diplomas. The individuals served in regiments garrisoned in northern and eastern areas of the province, particularly in northern Dacia Porolissensis and east of Dacia Superior. It is striking that none of the regiments billeted in the western and southern parts of Dacia yielded evidence for discharge of Thracian veterans. That might be an indication that Thracian recruits were predominantly sent to regiments in northern and eastern Dacia.

The military diplomas of 140 and 158 are of type III E (*quinque et viginti stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione*). They show discharge on time while 144 and both 164 constitutions are of type III D (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione*) indicating later discharges. Therefore, possible earlier recruitment and longer service can be foreseen for III D type group.

Table V

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Pannonia and Noricum

Cerso Dentarasadi	Ala I Brittonum	Eck 2003, 220-228; f.s.u. (71)	Thrax
Gusulae Doqui	Ala I Thracum Victrix	Weiss, 2004, 239-246; f.s.u. (79)	Thrax
Soius Muscelli	Cohors I Montanorum	CIL 16, 26; Klosterneuburg (80)	Bessus
Ulpius M[...]	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	RMD 236; f.s.u. (126)	Bessus
C. Iulius Lupercus	Ala III Augusta Thracum sagitt.	RIU 560; Szőny (180)	domo Sala
Aurelius Catus	Ala I Thracum Veterana sagitt.	RIU 1183; Dunapentele (213)	
Aurelius Lipor	Ala I Thracum Veterana sagitt.	CIL III 3393; Dunapentele (222-235)	
Aurelius Teres Aurelius Marcus (?)	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	CIL 3, 4370; Győr (200-250)	
Aurelius Doriso	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	RIU 260; Győr ? (160-230)	
Aelius Bi]thus Aurelius Dolens(?)	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	Eck, Roxan 1998; f.s.u. (240) Balty, van Rengen 1993, 47 pl. 21 9; El Muddik (ca. 252)	

Commentary. Pannonia displays an early discharge of Thracian veterans in 71 and Noricum in 79, a proof that the supply of the Norico-Pannonian regiments with recruits from Thrace began very early in the 1st century. The earliest Norico-Pannonian military diplomas are of type I (71) (*quina et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerant*) and II A (80) (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis*) showing possible prolongation of service, but also earlier recruitments. The soldier in *ala I Ulpia Contariorum* shows all signs of having been levied in 46, when Thrace was turned into a province but there is considerable chance that the individual was enrolled even a few years earlier in the light of the type of the 71 military diploma. The soldier from *ala I Thracum victrix* levied in 54 or shortly earlier suggests that the regiment was created either by mid 50s, in which case the individual was among the first generation of recruits, or, which is more likely, the cavalry unit was raised before the creation of Thrace as a province, when the distribution of recruits from the

[12] See also Branga 1986, 99, 116, 138.

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Thracian area was a constant trend in the policy of Roman military administration, as clearly shown by the Thracian soldier in *cohors I Montanorum*.

Fortuitous or not, the epigraphic evidence patently shows that many of the Pannonian regiments (the units of Thracian origin inclusively) were constantly supplied with Thracian contingents in the 2nd and especially in the 3rd century, a fact illustrated also by a considerable number of active soldiers who were not included in the table. *Ala I Ulpia Contariorum* is the best example of the intensity of the dispatch of Thracian recruits towards the Pannonian army, particularly in the 3rd century[13].

Table VI

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Germania

Durises Bithi	Cohors IIII Thracum	CIL 16, 158; Kamensko (80)	Thrax
Tharsa	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 60 (90) f.s.u.	
Mucapor Eptacenti	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	CIL 16, 36; Mainz (90)	Thrax
Thavus Cassiporis	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 60; f.s.u. (90)	Thrax
T. Flavius Celsus	Ala Scubulorum	CIL 13, 7580; Worms (late 1th century)	Civis Sappaus
Valens Bititralis	Ala I Thracum	CIL 13, 8818; Vechten (first half of the 3rd century)	

Commentary. Four military diplomas attest the discharge of Thracian veterans in Germany[14]. Three discharges were made in 90 from *cohors I Aquitanorum* in the army of Upper Germany. From the same provincial army a Thracian veteran served in *ala Scubulorum* at Augusta Vangionum (Borbetomagus-Worms), while another was a soldier in *cohors IIII Thracum equitata* from the Lower German army discharged at an early date. All the three military diplomas are of III D type showing the prolongation of service due to the events on the Rhine frontier in 88-89. The discharge of the three soldiers from *cohors I Aquitanorum* (90) show that they were likely levied at the same date, possibly all at once, in 63 or 64, during the late Julio-Claudian epoch and dispatched directly to the regiment in Upper Germany. The veteran from *ala I Thracum* indicates a constant supply of the unit with recruits from the Thracian stock late in the 3rd century.

Table VII

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Mauretania Tingitana and Numidia

Sitalis Cultra	Ala I Augusta CR (Tocolosida)	RMD 84; Pernik (109)	Trallis
[...] cti	[Cohors I Ituraeor ?]um C.R. (Valentia Banasa)	CIL 16, 162; Sidi Ali bou Jenoun (109)	Thrax
C. Iulius Bitus	Cohors II Gemella Thracum (Sila)	CIL 8, 14218; Tunis (1st c.)	

Commentary. Surprisingly, only Mauretania Tingitana and Numidia yielded evidence of Thracian veterans, although Mauretania Caesariensis hold an important cavalry regiment of Thracian origin at Caesarea (*ala II Augusta Thracum*), in the very capital city of the province[15]. Both military diplomas were issued in the same year and are of type III D that shows recruitment in ca. 83/84, when a certain number of young recruits was sent to the same province. The supply of the Tingitanian army with Thracian recruits seems to have been a common trait of the distribution of new contingents raised in Thrace in the 2nd century. In 200, the well known personage, Sextus Iulius Possessor, conducted 1000 Thracian recruits to the same province in order to supply the old contingents with fresh ones[16].

Twenty four military diplomas, 1st–3rd century in date, with known find spot were quantifiable for the analysis of the social behaviour and mobility of the Thracian veterans. Fifteen military diplomas have been found on the territory of the province of Thrace and Lower Moesia, while four in Dacia and one in Upper

[13] Lörincz 2001, 135-138.
[14] Fol 1969, 243-247 no. 1007; 1016; 1022; Alföldy 1968, 164 no. 2;
[15] Leveau 1973, 153-192.
[16] Speidel, 1977, 167-173.

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Moesia. That makes a total of nineteen constitutions, which is a considerable 62.5% concentrated in the Thraco-Moesian and Dacian areas.

❁

Tables A, B, and C, based on the known find spots of military diplomas and inscriptions, show in a concise form the social mobility of the veterans of Thracian origin shortly after their discharge. It is certainly a general estimation which takes into account mainly the circulation of the military diplomas with their owners and presumed places of their settlement and less, if at all, hypothetical cases when individuals accidentally lost the documents in a certain place on their way to another location. We are conscious of this kind of trap and the approach must take into considerations "accidents" that might happened everywhere where free and intense human circulation occurred.

Table A

Veterans who apparently remained in the very places (*vici militares/canabae*) of their former garrison

Soius Muscelli	Cohors I Montanorum (*Klosterneuburg*)	CIL XVI 26; Klosterneuburg (80)	Bessus
Dolens Sublusi	Cohors VI Thracum (Viminacium)	RMD 6; Kostolac (96)	Bessus
[...] cti	[Cohors I Ituraeor ?]um C.R. (Valentia Banasa)	CIL XVI 162; Sidi ali bou Jenoun (109)	Thrax
Heptapor Isi	Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum (*Cristeşti*)	CIL 16, 108; Cristeşti (158)	Bessus
Aurelius Doriso	ala I Ulpia Contariorum, (Arrabona)	RIU 260; Györ (160-230)	
T. Flavius Celsus	ala Scubulorum (Borbetomagus)	CIL XIII 7580; Worms (late 1st c.)	civis Sappaus
Aurelius Catus	ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum (Campona)	RIU 1183; Dunapentele (213)	
Aurelius Lipor	ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum (Campona)	CIL III 3393; Dunapentele (222-235)	
Valens Bititralis	ala I Thracum (Fectio)	CIL XIII 8818; Vechten (3rd c.)	
Sola Mucatri	ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana (*Ilişua*)	CIL III 787; Ilişua (2nd c.)	
Aurelius Tara	cohors III Campestris (Egeta)	(ILIug. 461; Prahovo (200-250)	
M. Antonius Rufus	Cohors II Gallorum (Altinum?)	CIL XVI 44; Oltina (99)	Abrettenus
Aurelius Teres	ala I Ulpia Contariorum (Arrabona)	RIU 262 Györ (200-250)	

Commentary. A considerable number of Thracian veterans decided to live in the immediate surroundings of their former garrison. The settlements must have been very likely *vici militares* of the auxiliary units. *Vici militares* were identified and partially investigated at Vechten, Worms, Györ and Ilişua forts[17], although the existence of such settlements lied next to all the auxiliary garrisons. According to the evidence available thus far, Lower Moesia, Dacia, and Pannonia appear the preferred provinces for the Thracian veterans to settle.

Pannonia displays a surprisingly early case, at Klosterneueburg, on the territory of the future Pannonia Superior, where *cohors I Montanorum* was billeted shortly after its arrival from Dalmatia and before the dispatch to Aquincum, by the end of the I[st] century[18]. The establishment of Thracian veterans at Arrabona (Györ) and Campona (Dunapentele) becomes explicable in the late 2[nd] and 3[rd] century when Thracian communities were already in existence at that time[19]. *Ala I Ulpia Contariorum* reveals a considerable number of Thracian active soldiers[20]. The Thracian veterans' families with names of clear Thracian origin, such as the one of *Aurelius Doriso* (*Aurelius Mussatus*, son, *Aurelius Lupus et Aulupor*, son, *Basilisa*, daughter, *Aurelia Noeren*, freedwoman and wife)[21] appears

[17] Polak, Wynia 1991, 132-133, 134, 142-143 (*Fectio*-Vechten); Visy 2003, 21; Szönyi 2003, 68-69, in: Z. Visy (ed), *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs (Györ); Caiu, Protase, Marinescu 1997, 43-44; 56-57 (Ilişua).

[18] Lörincz 2001, 39 no. 35.

[19] Barkóczi 1964, 271, 292.

[20] Lörincz 2001, 18 no. 9; 186-194 no. 92-120.

[21] CIL III 4369=RIU 260.

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only as sequences from a much larger Thracian community at Arrabona, around the cavalry regiment, systematically supplied with new Thracian contingents in the 3rd century.

At Campona (Dunapentele), where *ala I Thracum veterana* was billeted[22], the veterans who remained in the military *vicus* around the fort, like *Aurelius Lipor* or *Aurelius Catus*, created their own families[23]. Although formally Roman by names, the family members were in fact Thracian, or Thracian-Celtic, or Thracian-Illyrian at the most (e.g. *Aurelius Catus*, father, together with his son *Aurelius Cupitianus*, *Aurelia Prudentilla* and *Aurelia Constituta*), if Catus' wife, Septimia Quintilla, was a local Pannonian woman.

One suspects, on the other hand, solid family members connections between those living at Campona and Intercissa, where *legio II Adiutrix* was garrisoned. The Catus' son, *Aurelius Constitutus*, soldier in the legion, was killed in action, in *Bello Germanico*, in ca. 213, at the age of 24 after four years of service. Another case is *Aurelius Valens*, *miles legionis II Adiutricis*, who was probably Aurelius Lipor's son, and *Aurelia Severa* his sister.

The Ilişua and Cristeşti finds indicate the establishment of Thracian veterans in the military *vici*. Ilişua, in Dacia Porolissensis, is known through some active individuals of Thracian origin in the area[24]. At Cristeşti, in eastern Dacia Superior, the Thracian veteran settled in the middle of a social environment dominated by Norico-Pannonian elements.

Lower Moesia yielded only one case of establishment in the military *vicus*, at Altinum (Oltina), by late 1st century. The auxiliary fort is known only through aerial photography, but the ancient sources indicate the place of high tactical importance[25]. In Upper Moesia there are two known cases of Thracian veterans established in the *vici*. The topographical studies show three forts concentrated within a rather reduced area at Egeta (Prahovo), but the lack of archaeological investigation does not offer clues for the 2nd and 3rd century fort or military or civil *vicus*[26]. Viminacium (Kostolac) was the garrison of *legio VII Claudia*. The size of the legionary fortress 385.60 × 442.70m was large enough for the accommodation of more military strength than a single legion[27]. The auxiliary regiment could have been billeted in the same legionary fortress as in the case of *legio II Augusta* and *ala I Thracum* at Caerleon[28]. If the cavalry regiment was not billeted in a nearby auxiliary fort, which is possible, then the veteran could have chosen to settle in the sizable *vicus* next to the legionary fortress.

The Rhineland yielded evidence for two cases of establishment of Thracian veterans in the auxiliary *vici*: Augusta Vangionum/Borbetomagus (Worms) in Upper and Fectio (Vechten) in Lower Germany. Worms was the garrison for several auxiliary regiments or detachments. *Cohors I Thracum Germanica* might have had a detachment or garrisoned for a short time at Worms, where its prefect, L. Octavius Celer, is recorded in an inscription before 85[29]. The sizable number of auxiliary units that were garrisoned in the 1st–3rd century at Worms must have developed a military *vicus* of some importance. *Ala I Thracum* was garrisoned at Vechten[30]. Two other cohorts were stationed in the fort in an early period. The significant number of artefacts and traces of the presence of legionary detachments from Lower Germany found in the Vechten military *vicus* would suggest the building up of a sizable civil settlement in which Valens Bititralis have settled.

Mauretania Tingitana shows only one case of this type of establishment. The unit of the Thracian veteran must be the Ituraean First cohort (cohors I Ituraeorum) the only one which was garrisoned at Banasa, in a patent urban milieu[31].

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[22] Lörincz 2001, 24-25 no. 26; 211-216 no. 173-193.
[23] CIL III 3393 (Aurelius Lipor); RIU 1183 (Aurelius Catus).
[24] Russu 1967, 90-91; Protase 1994, 36-37.
[25] Zahariade, Gudea 1997, 78.
[26] Petrović 1984, 163-166; 1986, 369-370.
[27] Mirković, 1986, in ISM II 54-56.
[28] Ziennkiewicz et alii 1993, 80-85.
[29] CIL XIII 6213.
[30] Bogaers 1974, 456-460.
[31] Roxan 1973, tab. I; Spaul 2000, 442-443.

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Table B

Veterans who remained in the same province or in relatively close areas from their former garrison

Mucapor Eptaccnti	cohors I Aquitanorum vet (*Friedberg*)	CIL 16, 36 (90) Mainz	Thrax
[? B]iti,	ala Siliana (*Gilău*)	IDR I 21 (164) Buciumi	
Mucatralis Bithi	cohors I Brittonum (Porolissum)	RMD 63 (164) Căşei	
C. Iulius Lupercus	ala III Augusta Thracum(Adiaum)	RIU 560 (180) Ó Szöny	domo Sala
C. Iulius Bithus	cohors II Gemella Thracum (Sila)	CIL 8, 14218 (sec. 1) Tunis	
Aelius Mucatralis	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (Tomis ?)	Suceveanu 1998, 109 (mid 2nd c.) Histria	
Valerius Herculanus	ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum (Carsium)	ISM V 117 (late 2nd c.) Gârliciu	vicus Rami [...]
Aelius Cotus	ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum (Carsium)	AE 1940, 34 (200-250) Ruse	
C. Iulius Valens	Cohors IIII Gallorum (Thracia)	RMD 14 (114) Pissarevo Thracia	Trallis

Commentary. Of the nine known cases of Thracian veterans who chose to settle in the province in which they had previously served, (three in Lower Moesia, two in Dacia, and one each in Thrace, Pannonia, Lower Germany and Numidia), Thrace, Lower Moesia, and Dacia provides over half (66.66%) of the cases. *Cohors IIII Gallorum* was stationed in Lower Moesia and then transferred to Thrace probably by Trajan[32]. The Thracian soldier from Trallis discharged in 114 in Thrace commenced his service in Lower Moesia. Its garrison in Thrace remains unknown, as no fort has been identified as yet around Pissarevo. The veteran chose Thrace, his homeland to settle after the discharge.

In Dacia, the veterans settled in northern parts of Dacia Porolissensis, although none of the regiments were garrisoned in the places where the military diplomas were found. *Ala Siliana* garrisoned the Gilău auxiliary fort, while *cohors I Brittonum* was particularly documented at Porolissum (Moigrad)[33]. The find spots of the military diplomas show that the veterans chose neighbourhoods of the main garrison possibly and very probably because land was available in these areas by mid 2nd century, and not nearby forts where they had served. In Lower Moesia the phenomenon must have been the same, beginning with mid 2nd century. The military diplomas were found in the same province, but sometimes way far from the military bases. The distance between Carsium (Hârşova) and Cius (Gârliciu) auxiliary forts is not so long, so that the Thracian veteran *Valerius Herculanus* has been granted land some 20 km northwards from the main base of *ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum*, while for *Aelius Cotus*, the distance became considerable and he had to move entirely to Sexaginta Prista (Ruse), upstream Danube, where the opportunity occurred. At mid 2nd century *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* was billeted somewhere in eastern Lower Moesia, possibly at Tomis[34]. One of its veterans settled at Histria, in a densely inhabited Thracian environment, and even if *Mucatralis* did not return exactly in or very close to the area he had been levied, the social milieu was certainly very familiar to him.

In Lower Germany, a Thracian veteran prefers the more cosmopolite life of Mogontiacum where a strong Thracian community existed, instead of the military *vicus* from Friedberg. The same preference is clearly manifest in Numidia where the city or the immediate surroundings of Carthago looked more attractive for the veteran from *cohors II Gemella Thracum* than the *vicus* from Sila, the garrison of the infantry unit at least in Julio-Claudian period[35]. In Pannonia Superior the phenomenon seems the same. The Thracian veteran settled at or nearby Brigetio, in the large *vicus* next to the legionary fortress, under whose competence the Azaum auxiliary fort, the garrison of the *ala III Augusta Thracum*, lay during the 2nd and 3rd century[36].

[32] Beneš 1978, 34; Matei Popescu 2001-2002, 207-208.

[33] Petolescu 2002, 87-88.

[34] Aricescu 1977, 51-52; Beneš 1978, 8 no. 13; Matei-Popescu 2001-2002, 179-183.

[35] Le Bohec 1989, 91.

[36] Lörincz 2001, 25-26 no. 28; 218-221 no. 196-208.

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Table C

Veterans returned to their original communities (tribes) (*reversi ad lares suos*)

Romesta Rescenti	Ala I Gall. et Thracum Antiana (Scythopolis)	CIL 16, 3; Sarsânlar (Moesia Inferior) (54)	Spiurus
Bithus Scuthi	cohors Musulamiorum (Syria)	CIL 16, 35; Muhovo (Thracia) (88)	Bessus
Quelsa Dolae	ala III Augusta Thracum (Syria)	RMD 4; Suhozem (Thracia) (91)	Thrax
Meticus Solae	Ala I Asturum (?)	CIL 16, 45; Plovdiv (Thracia) (99)	Bessus
Durises Bithi	Cohors IIII Thracum (Mogontiacum)	CIL 16, 158; Kamensko (Thracia) (80)	Thrax
Sitalus Cultra	Ala I Augusta CR (Tocolosida)	RMD 84; Pernik (Thracia) (109)	
C. Sertorius Cesicevetricis	ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana (Scythopolis)	Samsaris 1993, 235; Dervesiani (Macedonia) (1st c.)	

Commentary. There is a group of four Thracian veterans whose indicated origin and the find spots of their discharge document shows with a high degree of probability that they returned to their very communities were they had been previously levied.

Spiurus, as a tribe or place is basically unknown, but it was presumed to have referred to the place in Moesia Secunda recorded by Procopius as Spibyros, which is to be placed some tens of kilometres south-west of Durostorum (Silistra)[37]. The present day places of Muhovo, Suhozem and Plovdiv (Philippopolis) describe a triangle in which the warrior and powerful tribe of Bessi lived. It is difficult if not unattainable to uphold the idea of a homecoming to their very places where they had been levied, but the return in the middle of their old communities seems very likely.

Two cases might raise some question marks. *Durises Bithi* preferred to return from Mogontiacum in Lower Germany to his homeland. The find spot of his discharge document, Kamensko, is not at all an indication that he settled in another place than his original one, but also one cannot be maintained as evidence of his origin from this village. The geographical position of the present day village of Kamensko indicates his origin either as a Coeleletae or a Bessus. *Sitalus Cultra* served at Tocolosida, in *ala I Augusta civium Romanorum* in Mauretania Tigitana[38]. He could have been a Dentelethae, if he did return to his original community, at the present day Pernik, which falls into the Dentelethike strategy. *C. Sertorius Cesicevetricis* is a Thracian from Macedonia. His father's name was *Besideltus*, which resembles in a high degree with Bisaltia, the name of a known town in eastern Macedonia. Besideltus, therefore, as a personal name, derived very likely from the place name where the individual had been born as a Thracian, a tradition transmitted in the name of his son, Cesicevetricis.

Table D

Thracian veterans settled in other provinces than indicated through their origin

Seuthes	ala vet. Gallica (Egypt)	RMD 5; Gradište (Moesia Inferior) (91)	(S)Caenus
Seuthes Traibithi	cohors II Thracum (Iudeea)	CIL 16, 33; Turea (Dacia) (86)	Coiloleticus
[...] lus Iresi	ala I Flavia Getulorum (Tomis ?)	Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203; Bulgaria (125)	Besssus
Clagissa Clagissae	cohors II Mattiacorum (Sexaginta Prista)	CIL 16, 83; Târnovo (Thracia) (138)	Bessus
Bithus Solae	numerus Equitum Illyricorum (Hoghiz)	RMD 39; Palamartsa (Moesia Inferior) (140)	Bessus,
Aulenus Her[...]	cohors II Gallorum (Dacia)	CIL 16, 90; Nova Zagora (Thracia) (144)	
Aurelius Teres	ala I Asturum (Hoghiz)	ILER II 353; Sofia (Thracia)(200-250)	

Commentary. It is particularly noticeable that this category of veterans chose to settle in different provinces but in its great majority this option envisaged almost exclusively the three related provinces:

[37] Procop. *De Aedif.*, **4**. 11; Dechev 1976, 477.

[38] Roxan 1973, tab I; Spaul 1994, 52-54.

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Thrace, Lower Moesia, and Dacia. The exception refers to Scuthes, in *ala veterana Gallica* who remained in Egypt. It is on the other hand clear that veterans who served in regiments in one of the three provinces preferred to remain in the area. Some, liked better do move south of Danube after serving in Dacia, others remained in the same province but settled at great distance from their previous garrison, while in one case the veteran *Seuthes Traibithi*, from cohors II Thracum in Syria, settled initially south of the Danube and then went northwards in the new province of Dacia in search of new opportunities.

The mapping of the mobility of the Thracian veterans shows some clear trends both in social and geographical preferences for their after service life. Three veterans chose to remain in the Rhine provinces: *Mucapor Eptacenti* at Mainz, *T. Flavius Celsus* at Wiesbaden and *Valens Bititralis* at Vechten. There is one certain case of abandon of the Rhinelands, *Durises Bithi*. Mucapor, who settled at Mogontiacum, might have been stimulated by the Thracian community created particularly around the active soldiers or veterans documented in significant number in the legion XXII Primigenia[39]. Other Thracian communities of some size must have existed at Augusta Agrippinensis or Bonna were legions were supplied with Thracian recruits from the 1st through the 3rd century[40].

Dolanus appears at Aquae Mattiacorum (Wiesbaden), a station with thermal and curative waters[41]. It is possible that disease and need of treatment determined him to remain in this place. Valens in the 3rd century settled in the *vicus militaris* of the fort where the long garrisoning of *cohors IIII Thracum* could have created a Thracian community of some size.

The Pannonian provinces display four MDs and five datable inscriptions but only six documents are quantifiable for the social mobility of the Thracian veterans in this province. The only MD attesting a Thracian veteran, *Soio Muscelli* who settled in Pannonia in the 1st century is that from Klosterneueburg dated in 80, most of the recent finds bearing the obsessing f.s.u.

The inscriptions tell more. There are five Aurelii: *Lupercus, Doriso, Catus, Lipor* and *Teres* who remained in the Pannonian provinces in the 2nd and first half of the 3rd century. If in the 1st century the interest of the Thracian veterans for the Pannonian province is low (only one case) the region was chosen as a second home to the end of the 2nd or early 3rd century, when the number of the Thracian regiments became increasing. Towards the mid 2nd century the Thracian communities in Pannonia began to take shape. They were either formed of active Thracian soldiers with their Thracian or non-Thracian families and veterans, as shown by the epigraphic inquiries at Intercissa, Brigetio, Aquincum, and Arrabona. Although the Celtic and Illyrian linguistic and cultural background was predominant in the region, the fast development of urban life (Intercissa, Brigetio, Arrabona, Aquincum), the fertility of the soil and climate in the Pannonian provinces offered, in general, convenient living conditions for the Thracian veterans.

There are two cases of Thracian veterans who remained in the north African provinces: *C. Iulius Bitus* at Carthage and an unknown [...] *ctus* at Valentia Banasa., two urban centres of cosmopolite life.

It is by far obvious that most of the veterans chose the Balkan area as an option for their after service life. Some chose urban milieu: *Dolens Sublusi* at Viminacium, *Meticus Solae* at Philippopolis, Aelius Mucatralis at Histria, Aurelius Teres at Serdica(?), Aulenus Her[...] at Traiana Augusta Beroe. A relevant number preferred the military milieu, in the *vici militares* next to the forts where they had previously served: Altinum, Cristeşti, Buciumi, Ilişua, Căşei, Cius, Sexaginta Prista, Prahovo. Others opted for rural milieu as is the case of a significant number of known Thracian veterans at: Sarsânlar, Kamensko, Turea, Muhovo, and Suhozem.

From a geographical viewpoint one witness that the lands along the Danube valley and the fertile hilly and plain regions of Lower Moesia were mainly preferred by the discharged ones, although an implication of the Thracian veterans in the area of maximum fertility in Thrace, on the Maritza (Hebrus) valley, is also noticeable.

[39] Viktor-Decker, Selzer 1976, 532-539; for the Thracian community formed mainly of legionaries and auxiliaries together with their families see Fol 1969, 243-247.

[40] Schoppa 1972, 228-237.

[41] CIL XIII 7585.

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If to all these, one adds the massive returns in the Thracian-Moesian and Dacian arcas of the Thracian veterans from the legions, praetorian troops, Imperial fleets and the Rome's Imperial bodyguards (*equites singulares*), we have an impressive picture of the dynamics of the social mobility of the masses of Thracians engaged in the huge and active social corps in the Roman Empire that was the Roman army.

How can we explain, therefore, the overwhelming number of the options of veterans from the auxiliary regiments to return to or to remain in their recruitment areas, Thrace, Lower Moesia and Dacia, compared to the small number of cases of individuals documented for the western and almost none in the Eastern provinces?

An explanation for the 1st century incidence of such cases, in fact the most numerous, would be the opportunities of the system of land granting to the veterans in the relatively new provinces (Lower Moesia and Thrace) where land was still available. However, one question remains: why the veterans of Thracian origin preferred to take possession of these lands in Thrace or Moesia, in any event in an area relatively unitary from the cultural linguistic view point, and not in the western provinces (Germania, Pannonia or Africa) where they had previously served and where the more tempting opportunities and prosperity in a much better delineated urban milieu in the 1st century and a more rigorously outlined division of soil in the rural environment were at hand.

The answer to this question, at least a partial one, is given by Tacitus in a famous passage of the book IV of the Annals when he describes the atmosphere amongst an important part of the Thracian communities at the eve of the outbreak of the anti-roman revolt in 26[42]: "[...] *Thracian tribes, whose wild life in the highlands of a mountainous country made them unusually fierce. Besides their natural ferocity, the rebellion had its origin in their scornful refusal to endure levies and to supply our armies with their bravest men. Even native princes they would obey only according to their caprice, and if they sent aid, they used to appoint their own leaders and fight only against their neighbours. A rumour had then spread itself among them that dispersed and mingled with other tribes, they were to be dragged away to distant countries. Before however they took up arms, they sent envoys with assurances of their friendship and loyalty, which, they said, would continue, if they were not tried by any fresh burden. But if they were doomed to slavery as a conquered people, they had swords and young warriors and a spirit bent on freedom or resigned to death. As they spoke, they pointed to fortresses amid rocks whither they had conveyed their parents and their wives, and threatened us with a difficult, dangerous and sanguinary war* [...]". From this passage, the picture of a conservative people of its customs and traditions is perceptible. Also, certain nationalism, a traditional mentality deeply rooted and typical to close or relatively close communities seem to have been maintained along the 1st century. It is noticeable the persistence of a strong clan and tribal organization that required the maintaining of a coalesced community at home and implied the return of the recruit, now a veteran, to the community as a sacred promise beyond any other material opportunity.

Most cases of recruitment in the 1st century occurred between 29 and 80 when the Romanization of Thrace and Moesia among the mountainous Thracian tribes living in a manifest isolation was at its beginning. The impact of the Roman civilization on these communities would have led to revolts such those in 21 or 26, but also to a reticence towards the exterior world a fact that explains significantly the firm option of the return of the veterans to their homelands.

In the 2nd–3rd century, as stronger Thracian communities in provinces like Germany or Pannonia appear as a reality, the Romanization makes also visible progress among Thracian lands in urban, ideological, and social fields. As the social mobility intensifies, the ratio between the remained-returned veterans changes apparently in the favor of the first category, but this is only a first sight impression. However, the military diplomas and inscriptions show Moesia and Dacia, culturally and linguistically akin areas, among the favorite provinces of the great majority of those who decided to remain in the regions where they had previously served in the auxiliary regiments. One witnesses a continuation of the trend powerfully manifested in the 1st century that is the perpetuation of an affective connection with the native lands and maintenance of a tradition which, beside the economic advantages, belongs rather to the field of collective mentalities.

[42] Tac. Ann. 4. 46.

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EPIGRAPHICA HALMYRIDENSIA. I*

MIHAIL ZAHARIADE**

Key words: Halmyris, inscriptions, dedication, limestone.
Abstract. The past years intense excavations in the area of the Halmyris fort and the restoration of its western gate revealed quite a few number of complete or fragmentary inscriptions on stone and bricks,. Many were found during the 1991-2005 archaeological investigations in specific sectors of the fort, but a good deal of them appeared as *spolia* from the 1st -3rd century necropolis reused in the walls of the late 3rd – early 4th century western gate.

Cuvinte cheie: Halmyris, inscripții, dedicație,lespede.
Rezumat. Intensele cercetări arheologice din ultimii ani din aria fortului Halmyris ca şi restaurarea porții vestice, au dat la ivcală un număr important de inscripții pe piatră şi cărămidă, complete sau fragmetare. Multe au fost găsite în perioada 1991-2005 în zona fortului, dar o mare parte au apărut ca *spolia* reutilizate în pereții porții vestice din sec. III-IV.

The sponsorship of the Halmyris site by the Earthwatch Institute in Boston (USA) since 1999 had a great contribution in the partial investigation of the western gate, where volunteers found inscriptions that have been preliminarily studied.

The restoration team, conducted by Mrs. Sarvaş is worthy of appreciation in pointing the existence and extracting and replacing with modern limestone some walled fragments of inscriptions facing down in southern and northern sides of the western gate, without damaging the monument in its entirety.

I. INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE

A. HONORARY

1. Fragment of white dark white light gray marble plaque, found in 2003, in the Domus 2 area, in P 6, at -0.90 m depth (Fig. 1). The piece was used as building material of the wall of the barrack block nr VI. Dimensions: 0.20 × 0.18 × 6.5 cm. The fragment bears traces of seven letters set on two lines; hl: 6.5 cm. The letters are straight, neatly traced, indicating the hand of an official engraver. The field of the preserved fragment is 0.15 × 0.10 cm. The surface of the fragment bears slight traces of fire.

1.1. The bottom halves of four letters. The first seems very likely the bottom right line of an A. A straight would indicate an I or rather T. The bottom of a second A appears clear enough although, if so, the horizontal line is not visible. The bottom of an S is clearly visible.

1.2. N is clearly readable; before N, a small upper trace of a letter is vaguely perceptible, most likely an I. The A is clear and is followed by the upper right part of an E which seems also unambiguous.

The reading:

ATAS
[I] NAE

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* Special thanks and appreciation I owe to the Halmyris team, my colleagues and friends: Dr. Octavian Bounegru, Traian Dvorski, Dr. Alexandru Madgearu, with whom I permanently work, exchange ideas and are important factors in the project. Gratitude for their efforts earn all the student teams that worked and helped a good deal along the years. Mihai Ivanov, our site custodian whose passion for archaeology brought to light some fragments of inscriptions found in the rubble is worthy of appreciation.

** The articles of the "Halmyris" group do not follow the rules of this journal because they were transferred from "Dacia" journal.

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The group of letters ATAS, apparently difficult to be assigned to a particular expression, seems to be a plural perfect participle and the most convenient word would be [DEBELL] ATAS, a grammatical construction well represented, together with the temporal POST, on the Tetrarchic inscriptions at Sexaginta Prista, Transmarisca and Durostorum[1]. The 1997 restitution of the Halmyris Tetrarchic inscription has also as restoration [POST DEBELLATAS] in the context of the same Tetrarchic wording which continues with HOSTIVM GENTES[2]. On the Sexaginta Prista, Transmarisca and Durostorum inscriptions the expression is more elaborate, the group HOSTIVM GENTES being followed by CONFIRMATA ORBI SVO TRANQVILLITATE. At Halmyris and Donje Butorke the wording is simpler with HOSTIVM GENTES followed directly by PRO FVTVRVM IN AETERNVM REIPVBLICAE PRAESIDIVM CONSTITVERVNT, without any pompous expression ORBI SVO TRANQVILLITATE PRO FVTVRVM which occurs on the first three cases mentioned above.

The proposed restoration of the Tetrarchic wording on the Halmyris building inscription in 1997 was POST DEBELLATAS HOSTIVM GENTES IN AETERNVM REIPVBLICAE PRAESIDIVM CONSTITVERVNT.

The letters on the 2003 fragment fit [DEBELL]ATAS on the sixth and [I]N AE[TERNVM] on the seventh line in the Halmyris text. In that case the fragment would be an epigraphic evidence of another Tetrarchic foundation inscription at Halmyris.

This is the third Tetrarchic fragment of inscription found at Halmyris at a considerable distance from the initial place where the inscription must have been set. That shows that the monumental inscriptions were broken to pieces in a later period and used as building material.

A comparison between the physical characteristics of the two 1997 fragments and the one found in 2003 shows important differences. The stone analysis of the two 1997 fragments indicates a tough dark gray color, calcareous in composition, while the 2003 fragment is a dark white-light gray marble. The most obvious difference is the thickness of the fragments, which do not coincide. While the two 1997 fragments, which match together, are 8cm in thickness, the 2003 piece is only 6.5cm thick. That shows clearly that it is part of another inscription. The likely Tetrarchic wording on the 2003 fragment would belong to a different foundation inscription set in another location at the end of the reconstruction works. The 1997 fragments are supposed to have been set at the western gate, as suggested by their find spots. The find spot of the 2003 fragment would suggest a foundation inscription in the northern sector of the fort. Halmyris had two other pedestrian gates to the north and northeast, towards the harbor, investigated in the past years.

The 2003 fragment must have been part of the second monumental Tetrarchic foundation inscription set at one of these two gates. However, all the gates of the fort must have had such inscriptions which contributed to the endorsement of the imperial propaganda.

The reading:

[Impp(eratoribus) Caess(aribus) C(aio) Aurelio Valerio Diocletiano / et M(arco) Aur(elio) Maximiano pp(iis) ff(elicibus) invictis Aug(ustis) / et Fl(avio) Val(erio) Constantio et Gal(erio) Val(erio) Maximiano / nobb(ilissimis) Caess(aribus) Germanicis Max(imis) Gothicis Max(imis) / Sarmaticis Max(imis) Britannicis Max(imis) Persicis / Max(imis) qui post debell]atas [hostium gentes / pro futurum i]n ae[ternum reipublicae / praesidium constituerunt].

Proposed date: 301-305.

2. Fragment of yellowish limestone plaque, found in 1994 facing down at the postern of the northeast gate (Fig. 2). The piece was cut at the four corners in order to be easily accommodated between the narrow walls of the last quarter of the 6th century postern and used as a threshold. The text was seriously damaged. The plaque has an uneven surface that shows that it was not properly prepared for the writing. Therefore,

[1] J. Kolendo, *Une inscription inconue de Sexaginta Prista*, Eirene 5, 1966, p. 139-154 (Sexaginta Prista); CIL III, 6151 (Transmarisca); I.I. Russu, *Inscripţii latine din Durostorum,* StCl 2, 1936, p. 210-212; AE, 1936, 10 (Durostorum). For a commentary on the three inscriptions see M. Zahariade, *The Halmyris Tetrarchic Inscription*, ZPE 119, 1997, p. 230-236; idem, *The Tetrarchic Building Inscriptions and the Lower Danubian Limes*, in: *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina*, *Roma, 18-24 Septembre 1997*, Roma, 1999, p. 453-457.

[2] M. Zahariade, *op. cit.*, p. 229; 233; idem, *Inscripţia de fundaţie tetrarhică de la Halmyris*, Pontica 29, 1997, p. 173-186; Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, *Inscriptiile*, in: Suceveanu, Zahariade, Topoleanu, Poenaru Bordea, *Halmyris I. Monografie arheologică*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 115.

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there are visible repercussions in the lay out, size and quality of the letters. Dimensions: 0.47 × 0.42 × 0.07m. The preserved field of inscription: 0.24 × 0.32m; hl 3.5-4cm. The writing is unequal and asymmetrical; the letters are cut in a shallow manner.

The text has five lines:

[D] D N N
CONSTAN
TIVS AVG
ET CONSTAS- (sic!)
5. NTINVS

1.1: the first letter, highly probable a D, completely disappeared.
1.2: O is considerably damaged; S is bigger than the rest of the letters; only the left upper part of a letter is preserved, but due to its sharp angle-like form it strongly suggests an N
1.3: G is rendered through a C
1.4: T is shorter than the rest of the letters; the S at the end of CONSTA, which is visible enough, might be an additional error of the engraver. The bottom part of the plaque shows clearly the letters NT. The I, N, and V are broken at the lower part but are easily distinguishable.
1.5: the group TINVS falls in the fracture of the inscription.
On 1.2 and 3: Constan/tius Aug. is Constantius II (Flavius Iulius Constantius, 337-361).
On 1.4 and 5: Consta/ntinus is Constantinus II (Flavius Claudius Constantinus, 337-340), who was also Augustus after 9 September 337 together with Constantius II and Constans (337-351).
On 1.6. The title Augustus appears as the only solution.

The reading:

D(omini) N(ostri)
Constan-
tius Aug(ustus)
et Consta-
ntinus
[Augustus]
[.....]

On the Scythia Minor milestones, only Constantinus II and Constantius II appear associated in an earlier or later period[3]. Constantius II held a certain authority over the other two Augusti, although Constantinus II was older in age and commonly appears on the first place in inscriptions[4]. On the Carcaliu inscription Constantinus II is also recorded on the first place in the list of the three Augusti, in 337-340[5].

The Halmyris inscription dates after 9 September 337 but before the spring of 340, when Constantinus II Augustus, in an attempt to forcibly discipline the arrogant Constans invaded Italy, was defeated and killed by his younger brother at Aquileia[6].

---

[3] The association is usually with Constantine I (Maximus, the Great), either in the position of Caesars or as Augusti, but always without Constans, at least in Scythia; IGLR nr. 6 (323-337), 167 (324-326), 275 (ante 337), 276 (324-326).

[4] On Constantinus II see O. Seeck, RE 4, s.v. *Constantinus* (3), col. 1026; J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1971, 1, p. 223, s.v. *Fl. Claudius Constantinus*.

[5] IGLR, nr. 238 (337-340). It is for the first time when the three Augusti, Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans appear together on a Scythian inscription.

[6] For these events, see: X. Lucien-Brun, *Constance II et le massacre des princes*, Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, ser. 4, 1973, p. 585-602; Joe W. Leedom, *Constantius II: Three Revisions*, Byzantion 48, 1978, p. 133-36; Michael DiMaio, *Smoke in the Wind: Zonaras' use of Philostorgius, Zosimus, John of Antioch, and John of Rhodes in his Narrative on the Neo-Flavian Emperors*, Byzantion 58, 1988, p. 236-249; More recently, M. Di Maio and D. W.-H. Arnold, *Per Vim, Per Caedem, Per Bellum: A Study of Murder and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Year 337 A.D.*, Byzantion 62, 1992, p. 198-212.

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B. TOMBSTONES

3. Yellow limestone plaque. Found in 2004, walled in the pavement of the corridor, on the edge of the 'secret well' between the northern bastion and the fort wall (Fig. 3). The stone was cut at the lower part to fit in the new structure. Dimensions: 0.74 × 0. 94 × 0.70 m. The inscription field: 0.76 × 0.40 m; hl: 2-5cm. The words are separated by *hederae distinguentes.*

The field of inscription is framed by a decoration of vine sticks with leaves and grapes. The decoration appears only on the right side, while the left is almost completely deteriorated. The inscription has seven lines.

The text reads:

D M
AELIVS SO
LA VIVO S
VO SIBI PO
5. SVIT ET AELE
MARCE CO
IVGI PIENT

D(is) M(anibus)
Aelius So-
la vivo s-
uo sibi po-
5. suit et Ael(ia)e
Marc(ia)e co(n)-
iugi pient(issimae)

The letter O has different sizes: 1.2 and 4 (from SOLA and POSVIT) and 6 (COIVGI) are 2-3 cm 1.3: A from SOLA is deteriorated but is easily identifiable.

1.5: E+T in ligature

1.5: last E from AELE: 2cm

The letter O of the line 2, (SOLA) 4 (POSVIT)

1.5. ET in ligature; AELE, as it appears written on the block is certainly the gentilice Aeliae. It could have been pronounced as such, though, in the daily colloquial language and the engraver, no doubt from a local environment, could have adopted the respective phonetic form.

1.6. MARCE would indicate the same phonetic phenomenon as in the case of *Aele. Marc* (*ia*)*e* is the most likely restitution; *coiux* for *co*(*n*)*iux* is a largely spread wording.

Aelius Sola must have been a soldier discharged from an auxiliary unit or naval squadron stationed at Halmyris[7]. If so, Sola received the Roman citizenship and acquired implicitly the imperial gentilice during the Antonine period as the common formula sounds: *civitatem Romanam qui eorum non haberent dedit*. His wife, Aelia could have also received the citizenship concomitantly through the well known juridical procedure: *et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data aut cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.*

Aelius Sola dedicates the inscription to himself (*suo sibi*), and to his wife (*coniugi*) while he was still living (*vivo suo*). It could be an indication that the two spouses had no children or heirs to take care of a proper burial after their death.

[7] Except legionary vexillations, which built the first stone fort (see below, note 19), the epigraphic evidence for early Halmyris garrison indicate a significant squadron of the war fleet on the Danube (*Classis Flavia Moesica*) (Suceveanu,. Zahariade, *Un nouveau vicus sur le territoire de la Dobroudja romaine*, Dacia N.S., 30, 1986, p. 109-120) and a certain activity of the *legio V Macedonica* (M. Zahariade, *New Epigraphical Finds in the Roman Fort of Independenţa, Tulcea County*, Dacia N.S. 34, 1990, p. 263). On the other hand, the presence of the Thracians, especially Bessians in the Roman Imperial Navy is well documented (CIL XVI+ *Supplementum*, passim; RMD, passim).

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Sola is certainly a Thracian name, particularly Bessian[8], and it is recorded for the first time at Halmyris. Individuals bearing the name Sola appear frequently in a military environment, both in the auxiliary units and in the imperial navy. *Meticus Solae*, *Bessus* labeled as *gregalis*, from ala I Asturum in Moesia Inferior and *Bithus Solae*, also a *Bessus* from numerus Equitum Illyricorum in Dacia Inferior are recorded as grantees in the military diplomas from Plovdiv (A.D. 99) [9] and Palamarca (13.12. 140), respectively[10]. Sola Mucatri is a veteran from ala Tungrorum Frontoniana garrisoned in the 2nd century at Ilişua[11]. He seems to have remained in northern Dacia Porolissensis after his discharge. A Solas appear on a receipt for the squadron of Donatus of ala veterana Gallica from Egypt in 130[12]. A soldier in the praetorian navy from Misene bears a typical Roman name, C. Iulius Victor, certainly received during the service or on discharge, but he insists to make known his former Thracian name on the diploma, Sola Dini[13].

It is difficult to decide whether or not Sola was initially recruited in Thrace and then dispatched to the Halmyris garrison. It seems more likely that he was recruited into the army from the local Bessian communities settled in Dobrudja since early 1st century A.D[14]., enough numerous to allow conscription on a regular basis.

Marcia is a common Latin name in the Lower Danubian lands[15] and is already known at Halmyris. A Memmia Marcia died here at mid 2nd century[16].

The gentilice Aelius/Aelia becomes more and more significant in number at Halmyris: Aelius Valens, Aelius Sabinus, Aelia Bendsi, Aelius Titianus[17] (see also infra nr. 7, 8, and 9). The increasing number of Aelii is a remarkable indication of the Romanization in progress in the north-eastern corner of Dobrudja in the Antonine period.

Date: Antonine period.

4. Lower part of a yellow limestone plaque (Fig. 4). Found in 1992, walled in the structure of the southern side of the second gateway of the western gate overlaying nr. 6 (see below). The tombstone was cut in two. The lower part was placed in the masonry with the cut edge facing the exterior. The preserved plaque is broken in two.

The field inscription has a 0.24m wide featuring vine creeping stalks with grapes and leaves. Under the text of the inscription there is a vase with reflected rim; on each side there are two leaved twigs and two springing out stalks. In the middle there are two lotus buds. Two peacocks on either side drink water out of the vase. The field inscription is 0.74m wide. Dimensions: 1.21 × 0.67 × 0.20m; h: 9-11cm. Two lines are preserved:

MARI
F C

1.1: the breaking of the stone falls exactly on the middle line of A. The upper part of R and of an I is also broken.

1.2: *Hederae distinguentes* before F, between F and C, and after C which is slightly broken at the upper and lower part.

The reading:

[.....]
mari[to]
f(aciendum) c(uravit)

---

[8] G.I. Katsarov, *Trakiiskite Besi*, IzvestijaBID 6, 1924, p. 31-34; W. Tomaschek, *Die Alten Thraker*[2], Wien, 1980, p. 43.

[9] CIL XVI, 45.

[10] RMD 39 = IDR I, nr. 13.

[11] CIL III, 787.

[12] P. Lond. II 482[10]; CPL 114[10]; J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Egypte d'Auguste à Diocletien*, I-II, Le Caire, 1918, p. 503-504; S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto*, Milano, 1964, p. 119-120 nr. 38[21].

[13] CIL X, 3593: *C. Iulius Victor qui et Sola Dini*.

[14] Em. Zah, Al. Suceveanu, *Bessi Consistentes*, SCIV 22, 1971, 4, p. 567-578.

[15] E.g. M. Minkova, *The personal names of the Latin Inscriptions in Bulgaria,* dans *Studien zur klassischen Philologie*, Wien, 2000, p. 202.

[16] Zahariade, *New Epigraphical finds*...p. 262, nr. 6.

[17] *Ibidem*, p. 259-260 nr. 1; p. 260-261 nr. 3; p. 264, nr. 7.

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The massiveness and ornamentation of the fragment indicates a considerable size of the tombstone set by a person with a satisfactory financial situation, a woman who set the tombstone for her husband.

Date: The ending formula *f(aciendum) c(uravit)* would indicate late 2nd – early 3rd century.

5. Fragmentary yellow limestone plaque (Fig. 5). Found in 1992, in the same structure, next to nr. 5. Dimensions: 1.16 × 0.83 × 0.19m; hl. 6.7cm. The preserved field of inscription is 0.61m wide; straight, well cut letters. The plaque was cut vertically to be walled in the masonry. The cut edge appears eroded or chiseled even by the late 3rd century builders. The upper right part is completely destroyed; the upper left part is missing; some of the letters are completely illegible because of erosion. The 6cm deepened field of inscription is sided by a 0.15m wide border surrounded by a vine stalk decoration with leaves and grapes. The letters and the border have noticeable traces of ochre.

Seven lines are preserved:

[CA]PIT[O]
[A]NVS
ORM
VS SEX
5. QVIN[T]
FILI B[M]
F [C]

1.1: the lower right part of a letter is visible before PIT; very likely an A, considering the oblique remaining fragment of a line; the upper left part of the P is broken; only the left part of the top line of the T is preserved; very likely: [CA]PIT[O];
1.2: S is faded but is easily recognizable; the lower part of a letter is preserved only through the trace left by the chisel, possibly the letter A; lecture: [A] NVS;
1.3: the letters ORM are clear; there is a trace of an I, or T, or F, or any other letter with a vertical line before O, as the tiny fragment of a sole of a letter shows; I seems more likely.
1.4: the letter X is broken to the right, but it does not affect an easy lecture: SEX;
1.5. QVIN. T, which is very likely, seems to have disappeared in the erosion; lecture QVIN[T];
1.6: the stone is broken under this line and splits the letters I, B, from I following P only the insertion of the chisel is preserved; lecture FILI B[M].
1.7: only the letter F is preserved; the letter C disappeared because of the erosion; lecture: F[C]

The reading:

[...] [Ca]pit[o...]
[...a]nus [...]
[...]i(?)orm [...]
us Sex(tus)[...]
5. Quin[tus ?...]
fili b(ene) [m(erenti)]
f(aciendum) [c(uravit)]

Capito is a cognomen, while Sextus and Quintus are *praenomina*. They are well known among the Latin personal names and widespread in the Roman Empire, both in the Eastern and Western provinces[18]. In I. 3 one can attempt to restore [*stipend*]*ior(u)m*, but one can only guesstimate, as far as it is hardly acceptable that given the neat aspect of the inscription, the engraver could have commit such an omission in case of a key word in the text. As it seems, Sextus and Quintus were Capito's sons.

Date: 2nd century. The straight and neatly tracing of the letters are important clues in dating the inscription.

[18] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1982, passim. For Capito in the Lower Danubian provinces see Minkova, *op. cit.*, 131.

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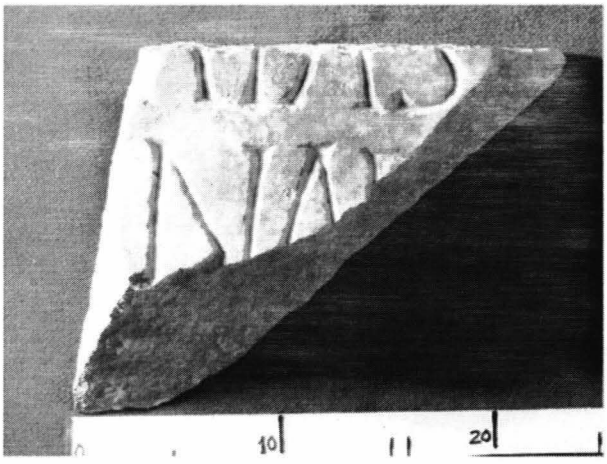

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Pl. I – Halmyris: Figs. 1-5.

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Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Pl. II – Halmyris: Figs. 6-7.

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Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

Pl. III – Halmyris: Figs. 8-9.

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Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 13.

Pl. IV – Halmyris: Figs. 10-13.

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6. Yellow fragmentary limestone plaque (Fig. 6). Found in 2005, underneath nr. 4. Dimensions: 1.07 × 0.79 × 0.24m; hl. 4.5-5cm. Traces of mortar from the walling into the masonry are still visible at the bottom part of the inscription field.

The stone was found broken in two. The left upper part was cut in order to be fitted in the new structure. The preserved field of inscription is 0.70 × 0.57m and 6cm deepened. On the right side there is a Corinthic style, double drummed at the upper part column, rectangular in profile, with stylized leaves, roughly chiseled with irregular incisions.

The letters D and M are 7 cm in height.

D M
M VLP MAR
CELLINVS POS
SIBI ET CL BERSIL
5. LE B M CONIV
GI ET NATIS[...]

D(is) M(anibus)
M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Mar-
cellinus pos(uit)
sibi et Cl(audia) Bersil-
5. le b(ene) m(erenti) coniu
gi et natis[...]

Tria nomina indicates Marcellinus as a Roman citizen. He set himself (*sibi posuit*) the tombstone. He received the imperial gentilice, Marcus Ulpius during Trajan's reign. This is the first case of a M. Ulpius known at Halmyris that would entail also an early date of the inscription, during or shortly after Trajan's reign. He might have supposedly been still an active soldier in one of the legionary detachments from I Italica, V Macedonica, or XI Claudia, which built the first stone phase of the fort in 106-117[19], or a civilian (in the administrative services), although there is no clear indication for any of these assumptions. It seems unlikely that he was a veteran when the inscription was set, otherwise he would have indicated the customary formulas of *militavit*.

The cognomen Marcellinus is rare for the early 2nd century. I. Kajanto has demonstrated that names ending in the suffixes *-inus*, *-anus* become increasingly numerous in later period, stressing on the rarity in early centuries A.D. The cognomina derive from the parental ones adding the suffix, which in the long run increased the number of extended forms. Marcellus as widely spread in early period becomes Marcellinus as a more common personal name in a later epoch[20]. Surprisingly, Moesia Inferior did not yield any 1st –2nd century name of Marcellinus, the few examples being later in date[21]. In Dacia the name seems more widespread. A. Iulius Marcellinus is recorded in an inscription at Schitu Topolniței, in Dacia Malvensis in the second half of the 2nd century[22]. At Germisara, an earlier Aelius Marcellinus is *signifier et quaestor N(umeri) B(rittonum)*, freed from a deadly threat (*mortis periculo liberatus*)[23]. Marcellinus is for the first time attested at Halmyris and certainly in north-eastern Dobrudja.

Claudia Bersille was undoubtedly a native woman of some condition, of peregrine origin, inheriting the imperial gentilice from his grandfather who might have been granted the Roman citizenship during Claudius' or Nero's reigns. The feminine gentilice Claudia is well documented in Moesia Inferior[24] and elsewhere. As Marcellinus' wife, she was also a Roman citizen. Bersille seems very likely a *hapax* in the long list of Thracian personal names. Decev's list[25] could not produce any example of an identical or similar name,

[19] Zahariade, *Vexillation in northern Dobroudja*, Dacia N.S. 30, 1986, 1-2, p. 173-176.
[20] Kajanto, *op. cit.*, p. 173, Ch. 2 *Cognomina*. Marcellinus is obtained from a praenomen, Marcellus.
[21] Minkova, *op. cit.* s.v , p. 202.
[22] IDR II, nr. 135.
[23] IDR III/3, nr. 243.
[24] Minkova, *op. cit.* s.v., p. 41.
[25] D. Decev, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien, 1976, p. 51-55.

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although the root *behr-* is widespread and used in dozens of combinations to form place names. A Berilo, as a masculine name, appear in an album of the *sodalicii* of Bacchus from Nedan, also in Moesia Inferior[26]. The name Bersille is formed of the indo-european –**bher*=to carry, to bear; to cut, to split, to cleave[27] and the ending *–sille*. But *Sile* is a feminine name in itself, like in an inscription in Koinare: [...]*senecta mea Crescentilla socra tua et Sile coniux tua Bitilla curavit filia*[...][28].

On line 6, after *et* the word *natis* designates the children of the couple resulted from their marriage.

Date: the first half of the 2nd century.

8. Fragment of a yellow limestone plaque (Fig. 7). Found in 1985. The plaque seems to have been cut in four. The preserved fragment is the upper right quarter of the entire tombstone. Its right part is strongly eroded. It was used as a base for the drum of a column in Domus I. Six lines are preserved:

1.1: only the letter D is preserved. It was certainly followed by M which disappeared in the cutting.

1.2: P is slightly destroyed to its upper right part; P+I in ligature; an R, as the last preserved letter of the line is clearly readable.

1.3: IMI; the right half of the M is slightly eroded. The reading of the group IMI leaves no doubts;

1.4: ANN. The right oblique line of the A is longer than the rest of the letter.

1.5: AELIV.

1.6: RATIA. The horizontal bar of the T is not completely engraved. Only the right half is visible.

The reading:

D [M]
PAPIR
IMI
ANN
5. AELIV
RATIA

D(is) [M(anibus)]
Papir[ius ?.....]
imi [....vix(it).....]
ann[is.....]
5. Aeliu[s.....]
Ratia[ria?.....]

Papirius is most likely to be restored on 1.2. The name is of Italic of origin and frequent especially in middle and southern Italy[29]. A Papirius Mes[...] is recorded on the Troesmis legionary *laterculus* of 134[30]. Another Papirius Valens, a *tubicen*, is recorded on a second half of the 2nd century inscription at Lom[31].

The text yet raises some difficulties. IMI on line 2 could come from a cognomen that have this group of letters, e.g. [Pr]imi[tivus], or [Max]imi[nus]. L. 6 poses the dilemma of the reading of the well-known colonia in Moesia Superior, RATIARIA or a group of letters such as RNIA, which would come either from a feminine cognomen e.g. [Calpu]rnia, or masculine ending in [...]rnia[nus]. The problem comes from the puzzling N or T after R. If it is a T it was incompletely carved in the stone. But the second letter after R is an A and has exactly the same characteristics as A from AELIV[s...] on 1.5. The reading RATIARIA is highly

[26] B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, (further on, ILB), Sofia, 1989, nr. 438 II/13. A. Bersolus, as a masculine name appears in Pannonia (AE 1972, 447).

[27] I.I. Russu, *Limba traco-dacilor*, Bucureşti, 1967, p. 132.

[28] Gerov, *op. cit.*, nr. 153; M. Minceva, *op. cit.* s.v., p. 253. On the name see also, K. Vlahov, *Nachträge und Berichtigung zu den thrakischen Sprachresten Rückwörterbuch*, GSUIFF 57, 1963, 2, p. 221-273; Zh. Velkova, *Nachträge zu den thrakischen Sprachresten* (1957-1972), Linguistique Balkanique 17, 1974, 2, p. 55-77.

[29] A. Mocsy, *Geselschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam, 1970, p. 214.

[30] ISM V nr. 137 VII 3.

[31] Gerov, *Romanizmăt mejdu Dunava I Balkana II. Ot Hadrian do Konstantin* Veliki, GSUIFF 42, 1950, p. 16.

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probable. If so, it might be that the last individual recorded in the Halmyris inscription could have originated from Ratiaria, a homeland well represented in other collective inscriptions[32].

9. Yellow limestone fragment of a tombstone (Fig. 8). Dimensions: 0.55 × 0.45 × 0.18 m. hl. 8-10cm. It was found in 2002, walled in the structure of the northern bastion of the western gate and recuperated when the restoration works commenced. The stone is badly damaged on the right side and nothing is preserved from the common floral motif (vine rod, grapes and leaves), although the dividing line between the field of inscription and the border indicate an initial intention to create decoration.

Three lines are preserved.

1.1: the bottom parts of E and L which are very likely, followed by IVS

1.2: easily readable VRNINV; N + V in ligature in which V is rendered as an U

1.3: the right part of a V; an X seems excluded; the following letters are clearly readable IT AVET; T and A are divided by a narrow space, enough to make a distinction between the two letters; E + T in ligature.

From a fourth line only a tiny upper part of a possible I is preserved.

The reading:

ELIVS
VRNINV
VIT AVET
I(?)

[A]elius
[Sat]urninu
[s milita]vit a(nnis) V et
[.....i(?)..]

Aelius Saturninus died while in active service after five years in the army. Saturninus is attested for the fist time at Halmyris. As a personal name it is widely spread in almost all the provinces of the Roman Empire. It appears for quite a few times in the Troesmis *laterculus* of legio V Macedonica in 134[33] or in many other instances in Moesia Inferior[34]. Aelius Saturninus at Halmyris died after five years of service.

Date: first half or mid 2nd century.

10. Greysh monolithic fragmentary plaque, broken in four smaller parts (Fig. 9). Found in the debris at the western gate in 2004. The four fragments join together.

Frg. 1: 0.38 × 0.30 × ca. 0.035m; hl. 7cm.

The top part of the fragment.

Three lines are preserved:

1.1. Only the lower parts of the letters are readable. E N E M E R E

1.2: E T F I L I O S I S. E falls mostly in the break of the stone, but the two horizontal bars are enough preserved to read an E. The reading of the rest of the line poses no problems. The last S is slightly broken to its curvature, but is easily readable.

1.3: I X I T A N X. The lower parts of all the letters on this line fall in the fracture of the stone.

Frg. 2: 0. 26 × 0.26 × ca. 0.035m; hl. 7cm. Three lines are preserved.

1.1: T I E. The first letter must be a T whose horizontal bar is missing; I is complete.

The lower part of an E is the only solution for reading this letter.

1.2. N I V. N and I are clear. There is an oblique bar of a letter which can not be anything else but a V.

1.3: P(?) or R (?) E. Only the loop of an R or B is preserved. The upper part of the next letter reveals an E, which is most likely.

Frg. 3: 0.10 × 0.10 × ca. 0.033m; fragmentary letters. The fragment matches exactly between fragments 1 and 2.

[32] *E.g.* IMS II, nr. 53.

[33] ISM V, nr. 137 IV 8; 22-24.

[34] ISM V, nr.10, 149, 187, 188, 298; In general see Minkova, *op. cit.*, s.v. p. 247-248.

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A small fragment of the lower part of V, followed by the lowcr half of an I, and a fragmcntary lower obliquc bar of X. that would match thc V on the second and I X on thc first fragmcnt.

Frg. 4: EA(?) or EN(?)

Thc assemblagc of thc four fragments resulted in five lines of the samc inscription with thc following rcading:

BENEMERE[N]
TI ET FILIO SIS
NI VIXIT AN X
P(?) (R?) E
EA or EN

bene mere[n]
ti et filio Sis(o?)
ni vixit an(nis) X[..?]
P(R?) E[.....]
EA/EN

The preserved text would point to the final lines of the inscription. The beginning of the dedication falls in the rupture and is so far lost. The only name readable is Siso (Dat. – Sisoni). The text specifies only that he had a son, unnamed in the text, who also receives the dedication. He seems to have lived ten years or more. Siso is a rare name. A Sise is known at Oescus (Gigen), very likely as a military[35] and an Aelius Sissa is recorded on an inscription at Securisca (Cerkovica)[36] In different variants, the name is apparently masculine, rather than feminine.

11. Greysh monolithic stone with fragmentary inscription, found in the debris of Thermae I, in 1995. Dimensions: 0.36 × 0.26 × 0.20m; hl. 0.7-0.10 cm; elongated letters. The left side of the stone is broken to its left part.

Three lines are preserved:

EA
ALE
S

Possible lecture:

[...] ea[...](?)
[V]ale(ns)
[...] s[...]

An Aelius Valens is known at Halmyris as a veteran in an unnamed regiment, together with another Aelius Valens on the same tombstone[37].

12. Greysh monolithic stone with fragmentary inscription. Found in 1982 S 1 26. Dimensions: 0.14 × 0.12 × 0.07m. The left side is completely broken. One fragmentary letter is preserved.

The reading:

V

13. Yellowish limestone with fragmentary inscription. Found in 1982 in S1 26.Dimensions: L = 0.16 × 0.13 × 0.06m. The right part of the letter M falls in the fracture. One fragmentary letter is preserved:

The reading is:

M

[35] Gerov, ILB nr. 68.

38 ISM I, nr. 201 B 18.

[36] *Ibidem*, nr. 133.

[37] Zahariade, *New Epigraphical finds*..., p. 260-261, nr. 3.

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14. Yellowish limestone with fragmentary inscription. Found in 1982 S 1 26. Dimensions: 0.15 × 0.65 × 0.08m.

One fragmentary letter is preserved. The right part of the letter V falls in the fracture.

The reading:

V

15. The middle part of a yellowish limestone fragmentary plaque. Found in 1982 in S1 26. Dimensions: 0.38 × 0.17 × 0.06m; hl. 6.5cm. The field of inscription is slightly deepened and sided by a 2.5cm and 4cm wide double frame, without decoration. Four lines are preserved.

1.1. the lower right part of an A, followed by an S
1.2. very likely a G of which only the upper and the bottom part are preserved
1.3. possibly the right bottom part of an A
1.4 the right upper part of a V

The reading:

AS
G
A
V

16. The upper left part of a yellowish limestone fragmentary plaque. Found in 1982 in S1 26. Dimensions: 0.85 × 0.25 × 0.14 m; hl. 3cm. The field of inscription is bordered by a deepened frame. Only one letter is preserved.

The reading:

L

II. INSCRIPTIONS ON BRICKS

17. Fragmentary brick: 12 × 6.5 × 3cm. Paste of yellowish color, well fired, without major traces of gravel or sand; hl. 1.5-2.5cm. The letters are of irregular form and were incised into the raw paste. Five lines were preserved.

1.1. D or Q; the upper part falls into the fracture of the brick; P or I; the upper part falls into the fracture of the brick; separation dots between D/Q and P/I; D is more likely.
1.2. S bigger (2.7cm) than the other two letters, IN; the tracing of the first letter is not very clear; it could also be a Q with an elongated tail.
1.3.above the left vertical bar of an N is a horizontal incision, hardly visible, either accidental or a ligature N + T.
1.4. the first letter seems a handwritten uncial *a*.
1.5. an I is most likely.

The reading:

DPI
SIN
NTE
PO
α
5 I

No coherent interpretation is possible for the moment.

18. Fragmentary building brick poorly fired, with gravel intrusions (Fig. 10). Dimensions: 13.5 × 12 × 4.3cm; hl.: 1-1.5cm; The Greek letters are written in the raw paste (Fig. 10).

The reading:

ΑΡΑΚΛ

The dots are obliquely set between A and P, possible a writer's sign; irregular letters.

Possible lecture: Ἀράκλα sc. Ἡράκλα. An Ἡράκλας is known at Histria[38]. The spelling with η̃ instead of ε: Ἡρακῆς contr. Ἡρακλῆς (Att), Ἡρακλέα (acc.), seems a slightly corrupted Doric dialect in rendering and pronouncing the name.

[38] ISM I, nr. 201 B 18.

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19. Fragmentary brick of red paste, with fine traces of gravel and sand. Found in 1994. Dimensions: 22.5 × 11 × 4.5cm; hl. 3.5cm Intersected three fingers print. The three preserved letters are incised in the raw paste with a wide point stylus. D is partially incised over the finger prints.

The reading:

V I D

If not the name or mark of a craftsman, we precautiously propose: *V(exillatio equitum) I D(almatarum)*. If so, the brick must be late 3rd – early 4th century in date when *vexillationes equitum* as a type of cavalry unit circulated in the Empire and not later[39]. In Notitia Dignitatum *vexillationes* appears only as headings for such a type of regiments, but never refers to a specific unit, as occurs during the Tetrarchic period. At late 3rd –early 4th century, *vexillationes equitum* used to bear numbers, as it is the case of *vexillatio II scutariorum* from Odessus (Varna), or *vexillatio XIII* (or XII) *catafractariorum* from Trimammium, temporarily dispatched to Histria[40]. It might be one of the many Dalmatian regiments that circulated within the Empire, with a temporary presence at Halmyris.

20. Complete building brick found in the collapsed rubble near the interior face of the defense wall, on the southern side of the western gate (Fig. 11). Dimensions: 34.5 × 27 × 5 cm. The brick is well burnt, has a dark reddish color, with visible very fine gravel and sand. The oblique finger prints divided the brick surface in four triangles of which only the upper (a), the left (b) and lower(c) contain Greek letters. They were written with a stylus after the finger prints had been already traced:

a. Letters: K (hl. 2cm); PX; hl. 3cm; X is later incised, overlapping P. To the right of the group PX there are several incisions from the stylus.

b. Up: group of letters: NYKT or NTYK (hl. 3cm). N + Y + T + K in ligature; the oblique lines of Y are traced above T.

Bottom: the letters: NK (hl. 2.3cm); N + K in ligature; several incisions from the stylus to upper right

c. Bottom, the letters ΠPH. The upper right part of H is missing. Vertical and pointed incisions from the stylus under the letters.

21. Fragmentary building brick. Found in 1994. The color of the paste is dark reddish with visible fine incisions of gravel and sand. Dimensions: 16 × 11 × 5cm. The incisions, written with a stylus, are illegible. It appears as an attempt of a cursive writing or possible a drawing.

22. Fragmentary building brick. The piece was found in 1994 in the collapsed rubble inside the edifice Thermae I. The color of the paste is brownish-reddish. The brick is well burnt. Dimensions: 29 × 25 × 5cm; hl. = 3.5cm. Oblique three fingered prints. Two letters at the bottom part of the piece:

The reading:

Θπ

π is slightly turned to the right.

23. Fragmentary building brick, found in the rubble inside the edifice (Fig. 12) Thermae I. Dimensions: 27 × 18 × 5. The paste is well fired. Oblique finger prints. The only preserved letter appears to have been incised in the raw paste.

The letter:

M

The letter is cut by an oblique line.

24. Fragmentary building brick, found in 1993 during the survey of the 'Dealul Cetății' hill, to the south (Fig. 13). The paste is dark grayish, with cavities from the incomplete or poorly firing. Dimensions:

[39] D. Hoffmann, *Das Spätromische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*, Teil I-II, Epigraphische Studien 2, 1969, p. 281-282 and passim IGLR, nr. 110.

[40] V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und Spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien*, Berlin, 1964, nr. 52;

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14 × 17 × 5cm. Fragmentary stamp. The dimensions of the preserved part of the cartouche are: 7 × 4cm; hl. = 3cm; reversed writing. The reading is from right to left.

Possible reading:

LE [G] I [IOVIAE SCY]
Le[*g*](*ionis*) I [*Ioviae Scy*(*thicae*)]

Legio I Iovia Scythica is a Tetrarchic legion created especially for Scythia and garrisoned at Noviodunum. It might have dispatched a detachment in the Halmyris fort as suggested by a *lettera commendaticia* inscribed on a brick[41] where Valerius Valerinus Constans appears as a military (with unknown office) in λεγέων πρεῖμα Ἰοβια. As there is a local business, in which Valerius Valerinus recommends a certain Secundus, the Hermes' son, and urge Valeria, the bone craftswoman, he must have had a certain position in the legion and in the Halmyris garrison in general[42].

[41] A. Aricescu, *Armata în Dobrogea romană*, Bucureşti, 1977, p. 122-123, fig. 28.
[42] *Halmyris* I, p. 125-126, nr. 21.

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LATE ROMAN PIECES OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM HALMYRIS

MIHAIL ZAHARIADE

Key words: Roman infantry, cavalry helmet, lamellar plate, iron strips, girdle.
Abstract. Weaponry and pieces of equipment are surprisingly amongst the rarest finds at Halmyris, although the fort had a key strategic position to the mouths of the Danube and there is good evidence for a strong garrison both in early and later Roman period. The pieces of equipment presented below were found during the 1982 excavations. The entire lot is part of the collection of The National Museum of Military History.

Cuvinte cheie: infanterie romană, coif de cavalerie, platoşă lamelară, infanterie, centură.
Rezumat. La Halmyris s-au găsit extrem de puține arme şi piese de echipament, deşi fortul a avut o poziție strategică la gurile Dunării şi deşi există dovezi că aici a funcționat o puternică garnizoană din perioada romană timpurie până la sfârşitul perioadei romane. Piesele de echipament prezentate în acest material au fost găsite în anul 1982 în timpul săpăturilor de la Halmyris (Murighiol commune, Tulcea County) şi se află la Muzeul Național de Istorie Militară.

I. ROMAN INFANTRY HELMET

Archaeological context: the piece was found in 1982, in the E-W trench, in □ 67, at -1.50m, together with other two smaller iron fragments which belong to the same component in a trash hole dug into the Xth level by the occupants of the next one XIth level. The Xth level is dated on the basis of coin finds and pottery in first half of the 6th century and seems to have ended very likely by 559 when the Kutrigurs routed the province of Scythia. The XIth level is datable roughly between 559 and 584/585[1].

Material: iron.

Location: The National Museum of Military History. Inv. C 1287.

State of preservation: The hemispherical skull-piece (calotte) is in a fragmentary state (Fig. 1a, b). The left part is totally missing; the right half shows a large break at the upper part of the hemisphere. The front part of the skull piece is missing, although one of the smaller fragments seems to fit into the lost spot.

Description: The piece has a diameter of ca. 23 cm and a height of 17 cm. The skull-piece consists of a solid 4 cm wide iron strip at the base reinforced with a 6 cm wide transversal top low crest with broadened ends soldered at the interior of the base strip (Fig. 2). Two hemispherical halves, of which only the right one is partially preserved, are joined at the interior of the transversal crest.

The transversal low crest shows traces of repair. A top rivet appears to have joined the broken crest (Fig. 1b), while a visible strip of iron reinforces the link at the interior (Fig. 3).

Date: The Halmyris helmet was found in a 6th century archaeological context. The fact that the piece was found in a trash pit pertaining to the XIth level that pierce the Xth means that the helmet was in use certainly in a period after 559. The obvious repair operation at the transversal crest might indicate a previous use of the piece, possibly in the first half of the 6th century, if not earlier. The repair of the crest must have followed a serious damage of the helmet.

[1] Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Fl. Topoleanu, in: Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Fl. Topoleanu, Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Halmyris* I. *Monografie arheologică*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 27-42.

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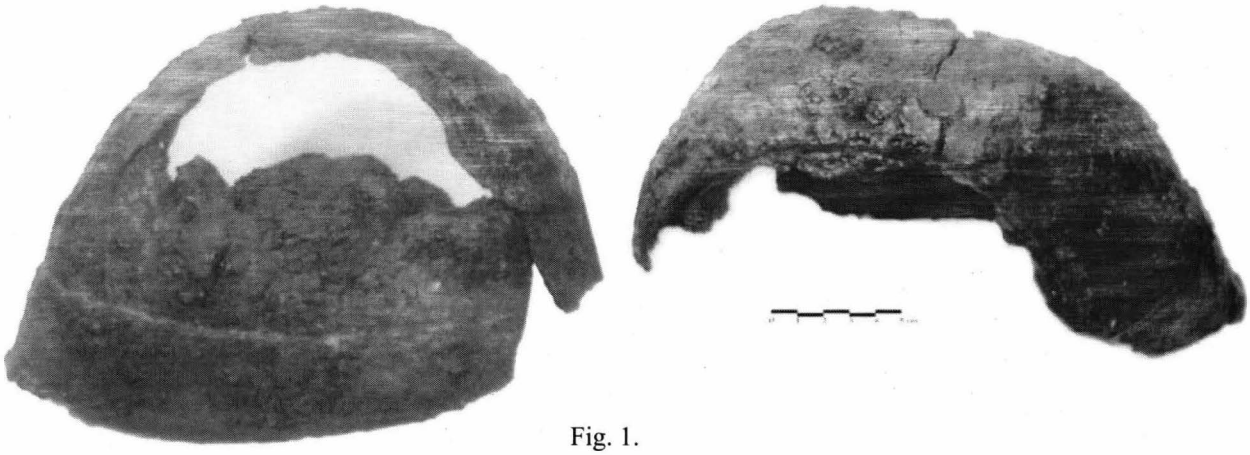
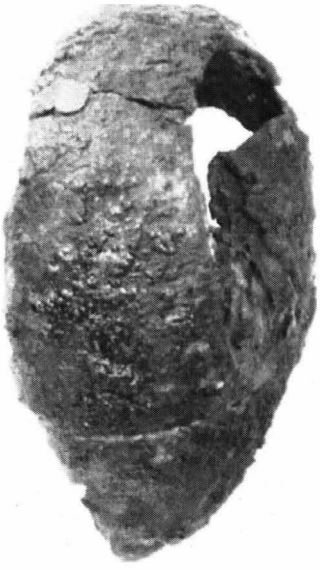


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



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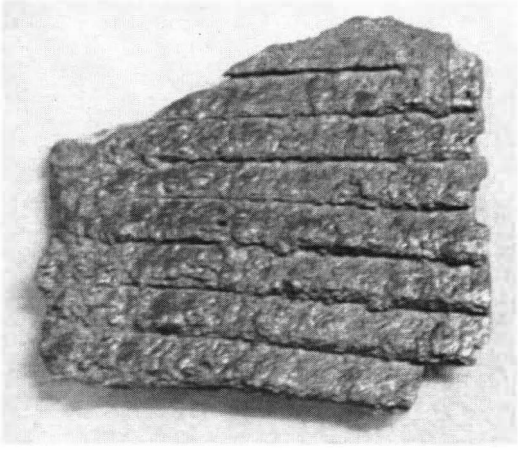

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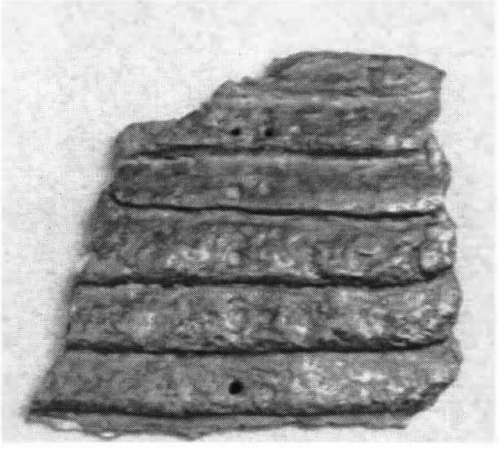

Fig. 5.

Pl I – Fig. 1a-b. Back and left side views of the helmet. Figs. 2-3. Overturned and right side view of the helmet. Figs. 5-6. Fragments of lamellar armor.

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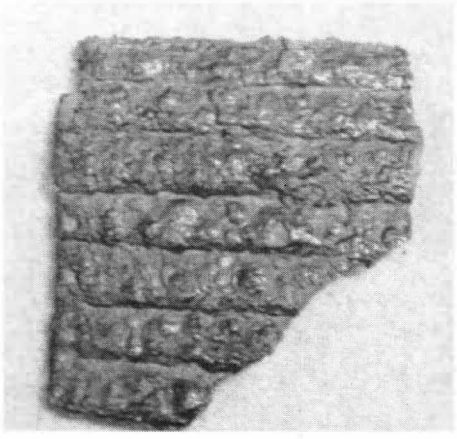

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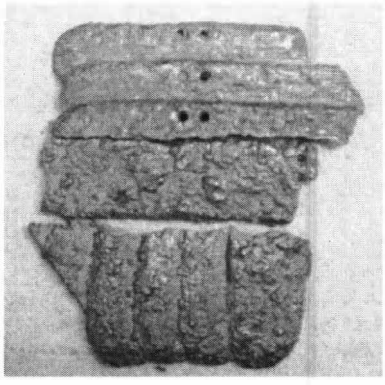

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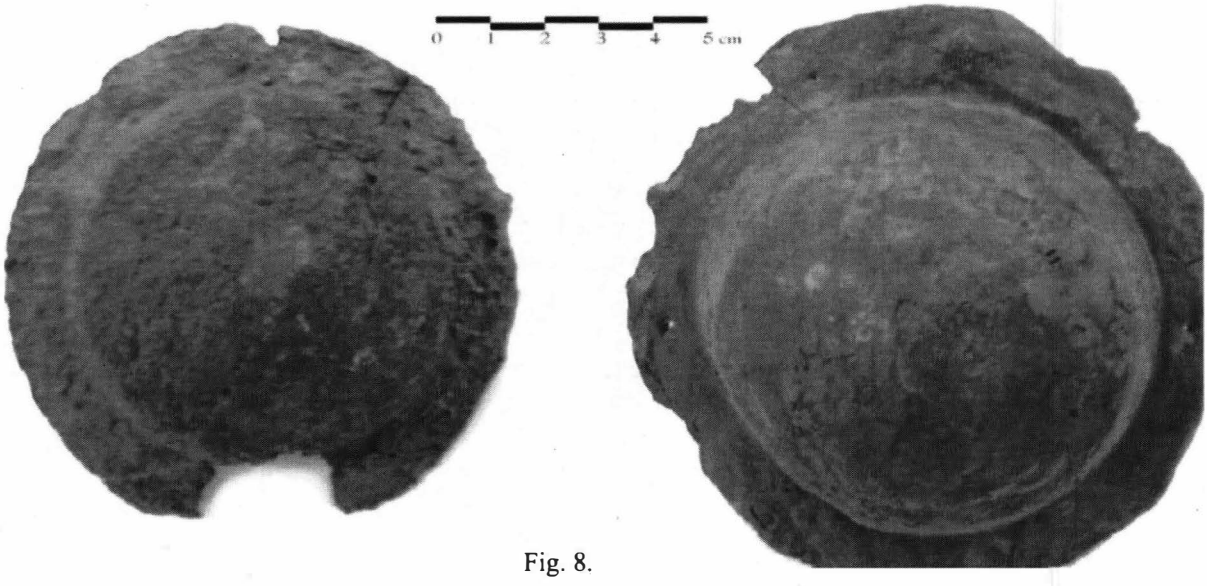

Fig. 8.

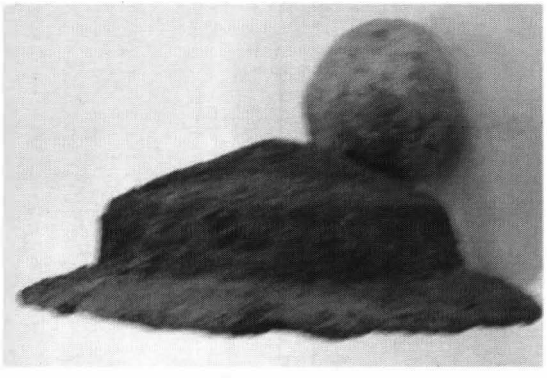

Fig. 9.

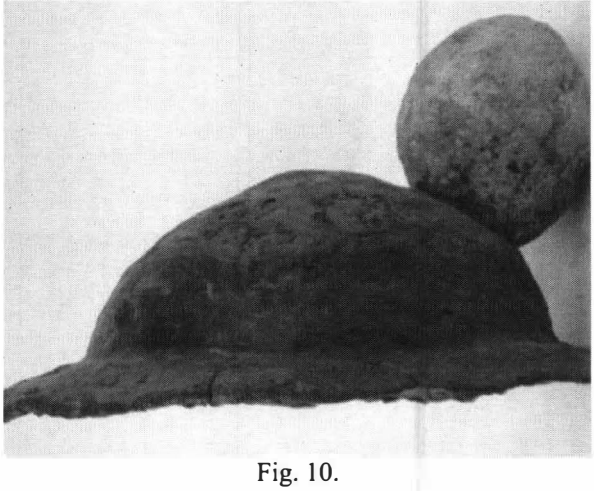

Fig. 10.

Pl. II – Fig. 7. Fragments of lamellar armor. Fig. 8. 6th Century *umbones*. Front view. Fig. 9. 6th Century *umbones*. Fig. 10. Profile view.

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The skull piece is simple, without the high crest topping it, characteristic to some known cases at Intercissa 1-4 helmets[2]. Although it must have been largely spread as a 6th century infantry or cavalry helmet, the Halmyris piece can not be yet allotted to any known so far type and seems the simplest type of helmet assigned to ordinary soldiers (very likely infantry troops).

Date: late 5th – mid 6th century.

II. FIVE FRAGMENTS OF BREAST PLATE

No. 1 : Dimensions: 9.00 cm × 8.00 cm. NMMH. Inv. C 1288
No. 2 : Dimensions: 8.00 cm × 9.30 cm. NMMH. Inv. C 1289
No. 3 : Dimensions: 8.50 cm × 9.00 cm. NMMH. Inv. C 1290
No. 4 : Dimensions: 8.50 cm × 5.00 cm. NMMH. Inv. C 1291
No. 5 : Dimensions: 7.50 cm × 3.50 cm. NMMH. Inv. C 1292

Archaeological context: the fragments were found in the E-W trench, in □ 69, at -1.58m, on the Xth occupation level dated in first half of the 6th century.

Material: all the five pieces are made of iron.

State of preservation: The pieces are in relatively good condition. The metal structure is well preserved. The iron shows visible marks of expansion due to the long term chemical reactions with natural elements in the soil.

Description: The fragments show different ways of joining that suggest that they belonged to several lamellar plates. In general, the fragments consist of vertical laminated iron strips set in a slightly overlapping sequence. Fragment no. 1 (Fig. 4) preserved eight lamellas of 9mm in width. It shows no traces of fastening holes. Fragment no. 2 (Fig. 5) has six preserved 1. 04 cm wide girdles. One fastening hole appears on the first girdle, while two others are inserted into the fifth. Fragment no. 3 (Fig. 6) is a compact seven 1cm wide lamellas, without any holes. Fragment no. 4 (Fig. 7a) shows four 1 cm wide holed lamellas and a fourth one to the left, 2cm in width, possibly as a linkage piece. The last piece (Fig. 7b), fragment no. 5 has five 1.3 wide girdle that show no traces of holes.

The holes were pierced for fastening the girdle units in order to connect them and create the breast plate very likely worn over an internal leather or linen coat. The widths of the straps indicate the existence of at least two or three different laminated plates.

Lamellar armor was used frequently in Late Roman Eastern and Early Byzantine Empire[3].

Date: First half of the 6th century.

III. SHIELD BOSSES (*UMBONES*).
Inv. C 1293-1294

Two complete shield bosses where found in 1981 (no. 1) and 1982 (no. 2).

Archaeological context: Shield boss (*umbo*) nr. 1 was found in the E-W trench, □ 9, – 1.33 m, on the XIth occupation level dated between 559-584/5; shield boss (*umbo*) no. 2 was found in the E-W trench, □ 23, – 1.60 m. on the IXth occupation level dated in second half of the 5th century.

Material: Iron.

Dimensions: Shield boss no. 1: diameter 19 cm; height: 7cm; shield boss no. 2: diameter: 21 cm; height: 5 cm (Fig. 8).

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[2]. E.B. Thomas, *Der Helmfund von Intercissa*, in H. Klumbach (ed.), *Spätrömische Paradehelme*, München, 1973, p. 103-109, tab. 45-57.

[3] H.R. Robinson, *The Armour of the Imperial Rome*, London, 1975, p. 162-163; 184-186.

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State of preservation and description: The two pieces are in a good condition. The iron shows slight traces of natural corrosion, but the metal structure is still well preserved and solid. A small part of the rim of the shield boss no. 1 is missing; it is slightly broken in the opposite side. At least one hole for the spikes is visible. The rim of the shield boss no. 2 shows multiple breakings. The four holes for the spikes are plainly visible.

The shield boss no. 1 shows a combination of protruding cylindrical bottom and cone like upper part profile (Fig. 9). The profile of shield boss no. 2 is hemispherical (Fig. 10).

The pieces presented above belong to the equipment specific to infantry troops. The 6th century epigraphic and literary sources are completely silent on the Halmyris garrison thus far. However, some hints on its structure, like in other late Roman forts on the Danube, are offered by the archaeological discoveries, among which the pieces of equipment remain a decisive argument.

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THE EPISCOPAL BASILICA FROM HALMYRIS AND THE CRYPT OF EPICTETUS AND ASTION

MIHAIL ZAHARIADE

Keywords: Roman Empire, basilica, apse, narthex, necropolis, crypt.
Abstract. The excavations carried out in 2000 on the North-West area of the Halmyris fort, Insula I, led to the unearthing of a building basilical plan. In the years that followed (2001-2004) the investigations revealed a basilica type building, with apse (altar), aisles, central nave, and narthex.

Cuvinte cheie: Imperiul Roman, basilică, altar, nartex, necropolă, criptă.
Rezumat. Cu prilejul săpăturilor întreprinse în anul 2000 în N-V fortului Halmyris, Insula I s-a identificat planul unei construcţii basilicale. În perioada următoare (2001-2004) a fost dezgropată o construcţie de tip basilical cu altar, nave laterale, navă centrală şi nartex.

Within the "Roman Fort on the Danube" project that has been generously sponsored by Earthwatch Institute since 1999 a focus point of investigation within the Halmyris fort was the Episcopal basilica discovered in 2000-2001[1].

The Halmyris fort is located 2.5 km. east of the present-day commune of Murighiol, Tulcea County, in the extreme north-east corner of the province of Scythia (today Dobrudja), the so called *Extrema Scythiae Minoris*[2] (Fig. 1), at the mouth of the Peuce (the present-day Sfântu Gheorghe) arm of the Danube. In the 1st–6th centuries Halmyris held a key strategic position at the junction of the Danube with the Black Sea. The fort functioned in the area as a legionary garrison at the very end of the last segment of the Roman Danube frontier, and as a naval and supply base for military installations upstream river[3] (Fig. 2).

Among a significant number of 3rd–6th century literary evidence on the history of Halmyris, two require particular attention in the light of our topic.

Notitia Episcopatuum included *Halmyris* in the 6th century bishoprics of Scythia Minor, as Ἀλμυρος an indication which, at the commencement of the systematic excavations in 1981 had to be proven mainly by archaeological investigations[4].

Outstanding evidence on late 3rd century Christian life at Halmyris is offered by *Vita Sanctorum Epicteti presbyteri et Astionis monachi*, an account included first in the *Heribertus Rosweydus' Vitae Patrum* published in 1615 and then in the famous Bollandian collection *Acta Sanctorum, vol. II, Julii 8, Parisiis et Romae*[5]. The eastern *Martyrologium* briefly records: ἐν Ἁλμιρίδι Ἐπίκτητος καὶ Ἀστίων[6]. The account

[1] The project "Roman Fort on the Danube" commenced in 1999 and was uninterruptedly and fully supported by Earthwatch Institute in Boston, U.S.A. for at least 6 years. I avail myself of this opportunity to expressing again all my gratitude towards this helpful and important sponsorship in the research.

[2] Jord. Get. 266; cf. Proc. *De Aedif.*: [...]Σκυθίας ἐν ὑστάτῳ κεῖται Ἅλμυρις ὄνομα.

[3] Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, *Un nouveau vicus sur le territoire de la Dobroudja romaine,* Dacia NS 30, 1986, p. 109-120; iisdem, *Du nom antique de la cite romaine tardive d'Independenta (dep. Tulcea)*, Dacia N.S. 31, 1987, p. 87-96; M. Zahariade, *An early and late Roman fort at Independenta, Tulcea county* in *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Canterbury 1989 Exeter,1991 p. 211-223; M. Zahariade, *Vexillation in northern Dobroudja*, Dacia N.S. 30, 1986, 1-2, p. 173-176; M. Zahariade, *The Halmyris Tetrarchic Inscription*, ZPE 119, 1997, p. 228-236; M. Zahariade, M. K. Phelps, *Halmyris, a settlement and fort near the mouth of the Danube: interim report*, JRA 15, 2002, p. 229-245.

[4] The text was published in 1867 under DE SS. EPICTETO PRESB. ET ASTIONE MONAHO. MARTYRIBUS ALMYRIDENSIBUS IN SCYTHIA: 540-551.

[5] J.B. Rossi, L. Duchesne, in Acta Sanctorum, *Novembris*, tom. II pars prior, Bruxelles 1894, p. 1-156.

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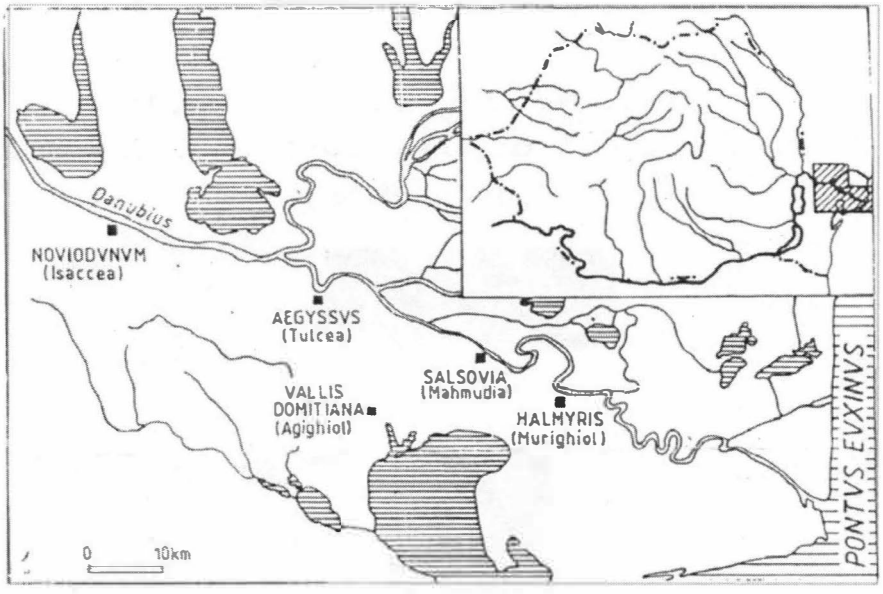
describes the life and acts of the priest Epictetus in one of the oriental provinces of the Roman Empire, his encounter with Astion who later became his disciple and their coming to Halmyris, their missionary activities full of miracles there and finally their torture and execution ordered by the duke of Scythia, Latronianus.



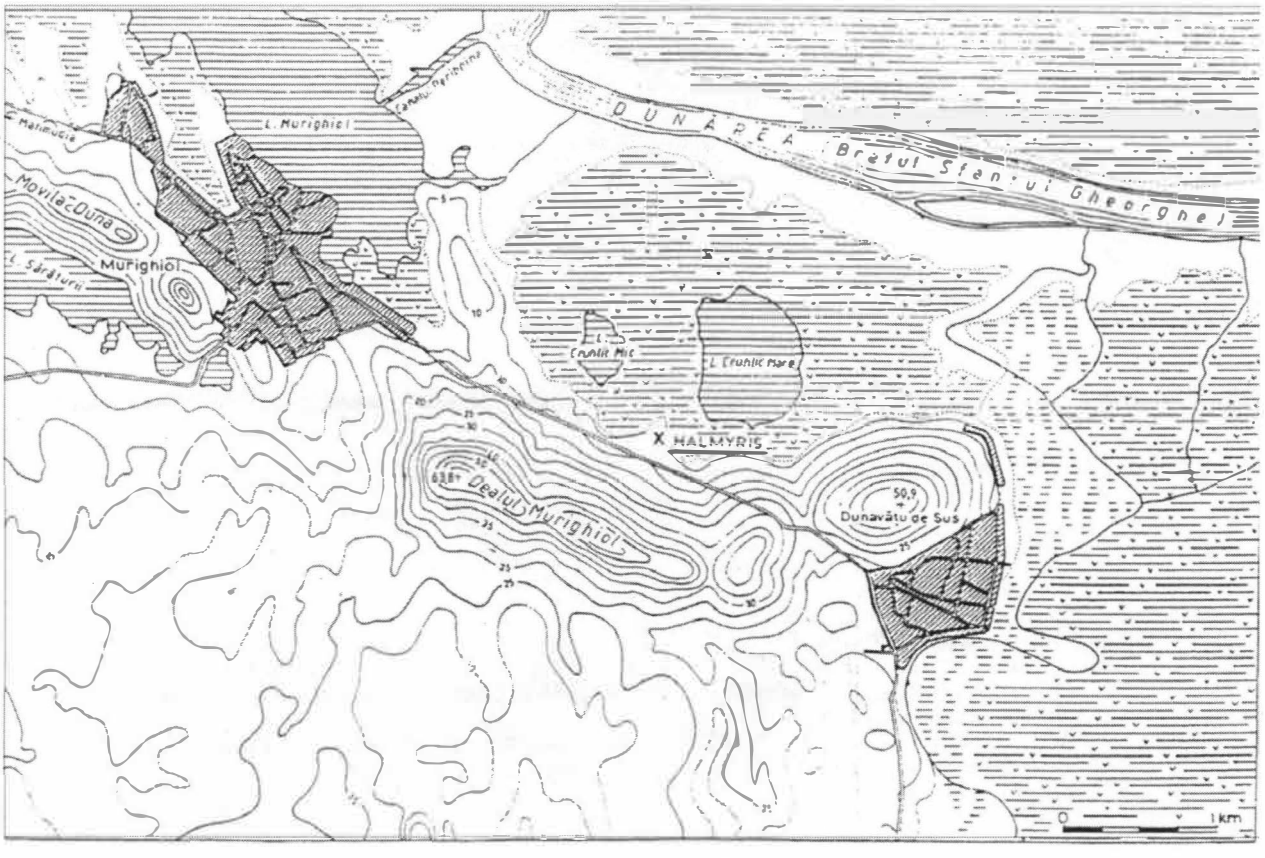


Fig. 1. a-b. Halmyris. The location of the fort.

[6] H. Delahaye, *Les martyrs Epictète et Astion*, Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique, tome XIV, 1-5. (6), Bucarest, 1928.

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Fig. 2. Halmyris. Satellite view.

In 1928, Hyppolyte Delahaye, the well-known researcher of early Christian life at the Lower Danube elaborated a special study dedicated to *Les Martyrs Epictete et Astion*.[7]. From his perspective "a basilica must have been undoubtedly erected at Halmyris in the honor of these martyrs. We hope that the Romanian archaeologists, worthy successors of the dear departed Vasile Pârvan will have the lucky chance to discover the vestiges of this basilica"[8].

THE EPISCOPAL BASILICA

The excavations carried out in 2000 on the North West area of the fort, Insula I, led to the unearthing of a building of basilical plan. In the years that followed (2001-2004) the investigations were focused on this important monument and its immediate surroundings (Fig. 3).

The research area encompassed □ L – S 10/ L – S 15, □ M 10 – 15 and □ S 10 – 15 and revealed a complex of buildings, 20.50 m long on east-west and 18 m wide on north-south axis. It consists of the following main architectural structures.

1. A basilica type building, with apse (altar), aisles, central nave, and narthex. The size of this main building is 18.50 m in length, including the apse and 10m in width.. Both aisles are delimited from the central nave by two partition walls each with three abutments that bore the weight of columns. Two column bases are still preserved *in situ* on the top of the wall of the southern aisle. The 0.70/0.80 m thick walls of the basilica are built in stone and clay.
2. A rectangular 4.50 × 3.00 m room with 0.70 m thick stone and clay walls appears bonded against the southern side of the basilica. At the interior 0.75/1 m long flagstones benches, still visible run along its southern and eastern sides.
3. A 13.50 m long and 4.50 m wide rectangular enclosure with 0.75/0.80 m thick stone and clay wall appears as a later addition surrounding the apse to the east, north and south. It has three narrow entrances towards *cardo maximus*. This additional wall created a circulation area behind the altar, possible an *ambulatorium*.
4. A 19.00 m long and 7.50 m wide stone and clay annex building, without an interior partition is bonded to the south side of the basilica. The building has a 2.0m monumental entrance to the east. A well situated in the south east corner of the wall that surrounds the altar seems to have either served as an inside water source.

[7] Delahaye, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[8] R. Krautheimmer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*[4], 1986, p. 39-67.

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5. A 5.50 × 3.25 m stone and clay rectangular room is situated in the south western corner of the annex building. Its position within the complex and the 0.80/0.90 m thick walls would suggest a significant elevation in which case we might witness here the existence of a *turris*.

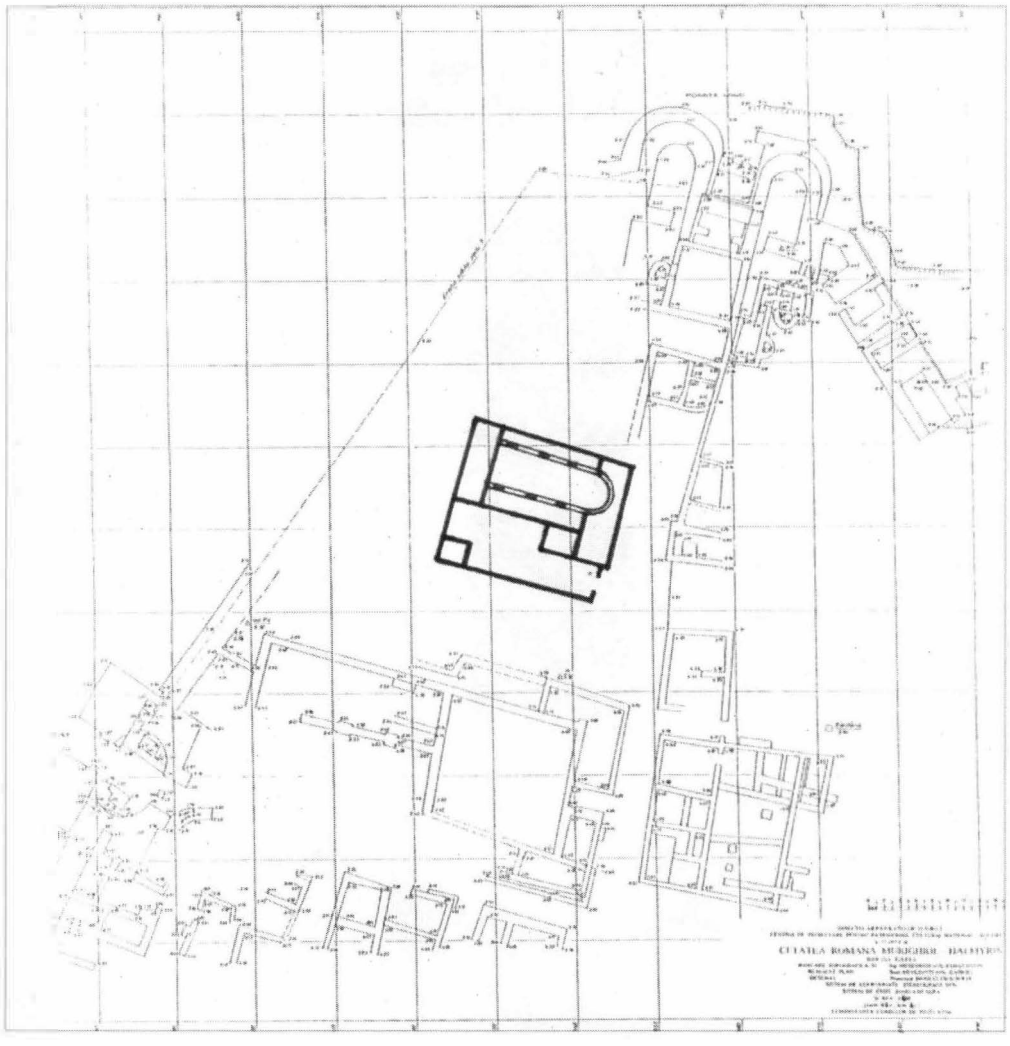

Fig. 3. Halmyris. Insula I.

If the 2001 excavations were concentrated upon the uncovering of the church surface and obtaining an overall plan, the 2002 focal point was the stratigraphy and chronological data on the ground formatting and the architectural development of the church complex.

Trenches T 1, north-south oriented, inside the northern aisle, T 2, the *ambulatorium* area, T 3, next to the south west corner of the altar, T 4, in the nave aiming to explore the central area provided the significant amount of information on the earliest phases and later development of the church layout.

A good deal of information was obtained in T 4 as a reference point for all the investigated areas (Fig. 4). The stratigraphy sequence runs as follows:

A 0.05 m thick recent stratum of soil overlays a 0.60-0.70m thick post-antique layer without significant or very slight and non-typical archeological intrusions. At – 0.70/0.80 m a first 0.50-0.60 m thick layer of debris mixed with grey-blackish soil is noticeable. At – 1.20/1.25 m, a 0.25/0.30 m thick and massive layer of clay visibly covers the entire surface of the trench. A discontinuous 0.05/0.07 m thick layer of clay at ca – 1.45/1.50 m appears mixed with medium size stones which seem to have formed the initial leveling of the terrain.

In the mid area of the trench, under the clay bed, a brownish-yellowish stratum overlays a vaguely outlined wall structure pertaining to a masonry that appears to have been dismantled to its foundations.

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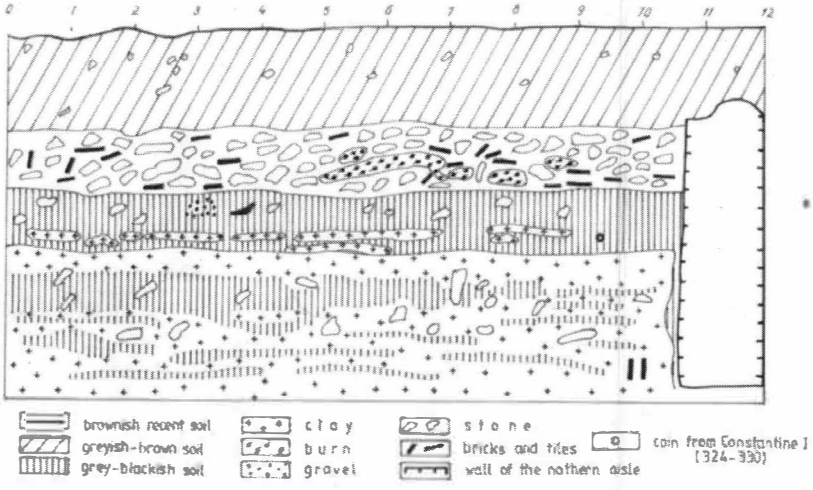
Fig. 4. Halmyris. The stratigraphy in T4.



At –1.60/1.70 m, underneath the clay and gravel fragmentary layer, a 0.10/0.20 m thick stratum covered up a 0.50/0.60 m thick alluvial soil with pre-Roman remains. The pole holes and their significant arrangement, visible in the alluvial soil indicate the existence of hovels in this area. The typical finds are 4th–3rd century Getic ware and Hellenistic pottery and roofing tiles. An amphora handle bears the name ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. Halmyris. Amphora handle bearing the name ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ (Mousaios).

The stratigraphy suggests two specific phases in ground formatting and building process: a clay and gravel stratum was set as a leveling bed at –1.45/1.50 m after the removal of the 2nd–3rd century Roman structures indicated by the traces of a dismantled wall in T 4 that had affected the initial native settlement in this area. The ground was completely excavated, leveled up and then filled in with soil from outside the fort, possible affecting a certain area of the native-Greek settlement where the mixed Getic and Hellenistic archaeological materials originate from. Foundation trenches for the future of structures were dug in the well packed earthen platform that resulted from this operation. The massive soil cleaning appears in fact as an operation of 'purification' of the area from 'pagan' structures. This would be the only explanation of the complete removal of the early 2nd–3rd century constructions which certainly existed in this area of the fort.

A well packed stratum of clay at –1.20/1.25 m followed as a consolidation of the floor which was topped by the brick pavement.

In its initial layout the Halmyris church was built of simple, compact plan, with apse, a single nave and narthex, without any additional divisions inside (Fig. 6). The synthrone, evidenced by a 0.50 wide bench forms a compact structure with the apse. The basilica with transept at Tropaeum and the main basilica at Argamum *deambulatoria* separate this configuration from the altar.

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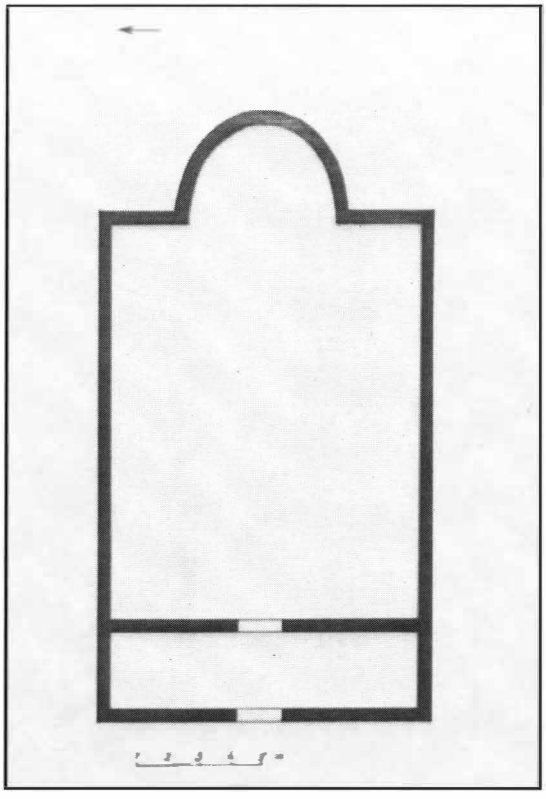

Fig. 6. Halmyris. The Constantinian plan of the church.

A coin from Constantine found at – 1.45 m on the clay bed that served as platform for the initial brick pavement, although slightly damaged appears legible as having being struck in 324-330 in the Thessaloniki workshops. It is a sheer indication that the basilica was built in the Constantinian epoch, although the piece as a *terminus post quem* could have circulated in a later period. Since the Milan edict of 313 acknowledged the Christian faith as an official religion in the Roman Empire, in the 24 remaining years of life, through word and action the Emperor founded the Christian church as a dominant religious power. The Christian architecture of the Constantinian epoch seems not to have known well established standards. Its most striking feature this period remains its variety. The architects who built edifices for the new religion have tried out the most diverse types: basilica type halls without aisles, the classical type of Roman basilica, basilicas with and without apses, with lateral wings (Lateran), with ambulatories, attached to central structures or with continuous transept, within the fortified areas, basilicas with or without *atria*. These variations were largely determined by the function of cathedral, martyrical basilicas and/or covered necropolises.

The new Christian architecture could not find its origin in the "pagan" religious architecture, both from practical and ideological reasons. The Christianity saw in paganism and in its entire architectural production the opposite of its intentions. The disdain was so profound that even the location of the Christian buildings did not follow previous occupied areas before late 4th or early 5th in the Eastern and 6th century in the Western parts of the Roman Empire, or even if it did, because of topographic or space saving the operations of expiation were so drastic that the terrain was radically newly formatted. In search of an original architecture, the Christian church finally ended up and returned to the public zone and official architecture. Within these search it inevitably had to combine the religious connotations with the requirements of the official construction. However, this type of building was already in existence and it was called basilica.

Modest basilicas were built before late 3rd–4th century, but only under Constantine the architects met the requirements of the Christian rite, creating new variations of the initial type of basilica. From the initial classical plan, the Christian basilica extracted two or three traits, which by 300 A. D. had become common characteristics to the majority of the basilicas, regardless their function: oblong plan, longitudinal axis, timber roofing, rectangular or apse like tribunal, division between central nave and lateral aisles. The church had to be brought to a monumentality recently created by the Constantinian spirit of Christendom and adapted to the liturgical requirements, financial resources and the social situation of local community[9].

[9] M. Zahariade, *Moesia Secunda, Scythia şi Notitia Dignitatum*, Bucureşti, 1988, p. 77-88.

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Apparently, the building of a church at Halmyris would not have been imperiously necessary if the solid cult of the martyrs, Epictetus and Astion, executed here on 8 July 290 did not exist.

Another reason for the erection of a basilica within the fort during the Constantinian epoch would paradoxically rely on the military reorganization of the Scythian limes, after these territories were taken over from Licinius by Constantine. Significant replacement of garrisons took place along the Danubian frontier at Drobeta, Sacidava, Dorticum, Utus and these examples are only a few from the ample operation of replacing the old Tetrarchic garrisons[10]. At Halmyris, regardless its composition the garrison was a participant to the martyrdom of the two Christians, Epictetus and Astion and therefore the non-Christian soldiers were replaced. The new auxiliary regiment, yet unknown, was created after 324 from Christian soldiers devoted to the new religion and regime and needed a place to worship expressed in its most obvious forms, basilica. Here, the soldiers were going to venerate also the memory of the two Christian martyrs in a church built around the major point of interest, the martyrs' crypt.

Lateral interior walls as partition for aisles were a later addition. Two 2.50 m wide northern and southern aisles were thus newly created (Fig. 7). Bases of columns appear at every 2.90 m, a good indication for the existence of columns to support the roof of the building. The heaviness of the new roofing structures supported by columns is suggested by solid stone abutments, three on each aisle wall, built in *opus mixtum*, at 1.60/2.00 m in depth (Fig. 8). They considerably thickened the walls of the aisles and created a stability of the columns. The height of the partition walls of the aisles were likely very low compared to the pavement level. The columns arrangement would suggest either north-south transversal or east-west oriented roofing arches along the walls of the aisles. A new pavement could have been laid down on this occasion.

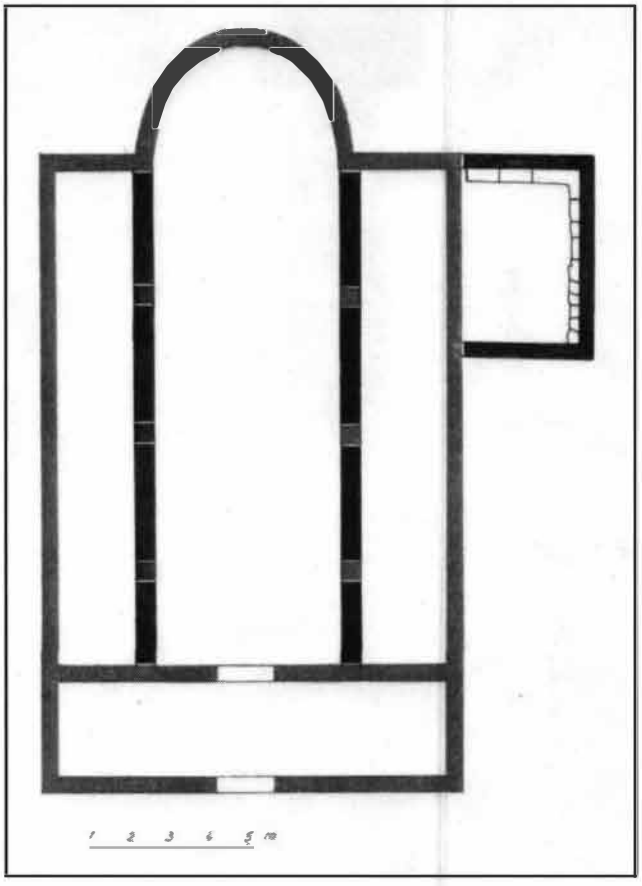

Fig. 7. Halmyris. The second and third building phases of the church.

Although significant modifications of the interior of the basilica have been undertaken in the second phase, the chronological sequence is only conjectural. There is no clear piece of evidence on the date of the building of the partition walls of the aisles with columns. Supposedly the operation must have occurred

[10]. C. Just. I 3.35 (36).

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somewhere during Constantius II's reign, when the building activity to this type of religious edifices was carried and even increased on a larger scale in the Empire. Similar basilicas with narthex, central nave and aisles are known in Scythia at Histria, the basilica with crypt near the big gate, on the western side, at Noviodunum, the basilica bonded to the defense wall, or the basilica in its initial phase at Dinogetia.

Fig. 8. Halmyris. Abutment on the southern side of the aisle wall.

The building of a benched assembly room bonded against the southern side of basilica marks the third phase in its development. The benches were made of 0.50 m wide flagstone set along the eastern and southern sides (Fig. 9). The bottom of the foundation walls of this new chamber yielded a compact layer of tiny fragments of kitchen and fine pottery, glass, mashed bricks, and gravel. Five hardly legible coins of small module, typical to Theodosius II' reign and second half of the 5th century were found amongst this well packed layer of rubble. The functional reasons for this additional room become significant once the number of the church personnel in the 5th century and the requirements for participation at religious services increased.

Fig. 9. Halmyris. The stone benches in the room on the southern side.

If Zenon's law prohibited the establishment of bishoprics in other towns of the province of Scythia with the exception of the capital Tomis[11], its provisions certainly did not forbid extensions or reconstructions of the existing churches. The archaeological material found under the foundation of the southern wall of that room indicates a period of construction sometime between mid and late 5th century.

[11] I. Barnea, *Roman-Byzantine basilicae discovered in Dobrogea between 1948-1958*, Dacia N.S. 2, 1958, p. 337-339.

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The last constructive phase of the basilica is marked by additional buildings on its eastern and southern sides (Fig. 10). The massive edifices almost equal the basilica in surface. The apse (altar) was enclosed by a rectangular layout building, set parallel to north-south oriented *cardo maximus* leaving a 4.00–4.50 m wide area for circulation. Three doorways opened to *cardo maximus* gave access within the area which can be seen as an *ambulatorium*.

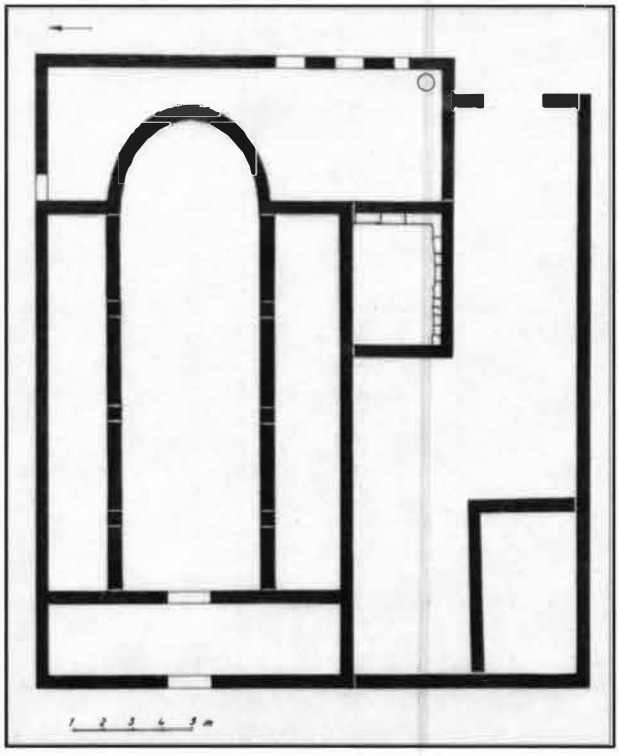

Fig. 10. Halmyris. The 6th century Episcopal basilica.

Concomitantly, another large edifice was built encompassing the entire southern side of the basilica. The 5th century benched assembly room was included within the new edifice. The long east-west oriented hall has no inside partition walls and seems to be an annex of the church covering the entire southern side of the basilica. The building of this edifice could have occurred in the first half of the 6th century, as indicated by two coins from Justin I and Justinian I, found at – 0.70 m near the threshold of the monumental entrance to the east. A small fragment from a vase of brownish color with stamped sign of the cross and the letters M Θ = M(ήτηρ) Θ(ηοῦ) printed over the lateral arms of the cross, found at –0.57 m, in □ P 14, shows clearly the ecclesiastical reasons of this edifice newly bonded to the church.

At the interior south western corner of this annex building a rectangular room appears as a second half of the 6th century later addition, as it is noticeable from the bonding of its walls against the annex walls and the clearly different building technique.

The coins from Justin I from 518–522 and Justinian I dated possibly after 538 are important chronological hints for the building activity in the 6th century. A later doubling of the altar with a supplementary wall appears at Dinogetia[12], but the new construction follows the round line of the altar, while at Halmyris, the inclusion of the altar within a rectangular wall was made in order to maintain a straight circulation along the south-north main street (*cardo maximus*). It is highly probable that the new structure surrounding the altar to the north, east, and south had small rectangular windows set at the upper part of the building as it is shown by a fragment of window glass found within the enclosure area (Fig. 11). The considerable quantity of window glasses found within this area seems to give reason for this reconstitution.

The massive extension in surface occurred highly probable when Halmyris was declared bishopric as clearly shown by *Notitia Episcopatuum*. It is likely that Halmyris was known as a *civitas* through the merging of the two 2nd–3rd century civil entities, *canabae* and the military *vicus* (*vicus classicorum*), already by the end

[12] Hierocl. *Synecd.* 637.15.

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of the 4th century when the text on the martyrdom of Epictetus and Astion, finally written up by that time speaks about *civitas Almyridensium*. Halmyris was reconfirmed as *polis/civitas* in 528 in the Hierocles' list[13].

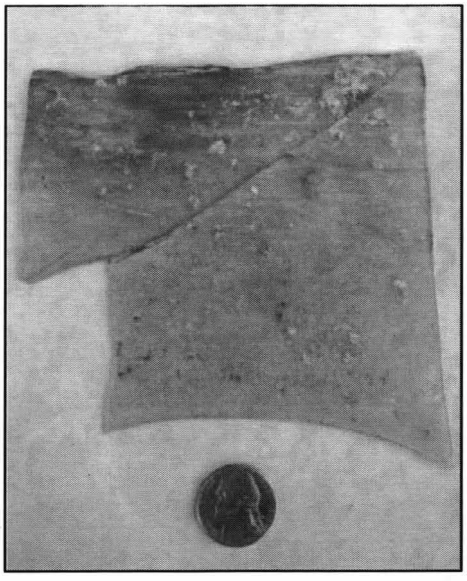

Fig. 11. Halmyris. Fragment of window glass.

Once Zenon's law bonds were abrogated by the Anastasian and Justinianic legislation, Halmyris became a bishopric as a result of its urban and demographic progress. The church complex underwent massive extensions and became a *basilica episcopalis* (Fig. 12). It is difficult yet to reasonably assign to a particular utility the building of the annex on the southern side of basilica: either housing the believers gathered here every year on 8th of July to attend the services for the commemoration of Epictetus and Astion, or as a shelter for the young catechumens, or workshops for the daily requirements of the church. Such edifices as annex buildings are well known in Scythia and elsewhere and they appear in the majority of the Episcopal centers.

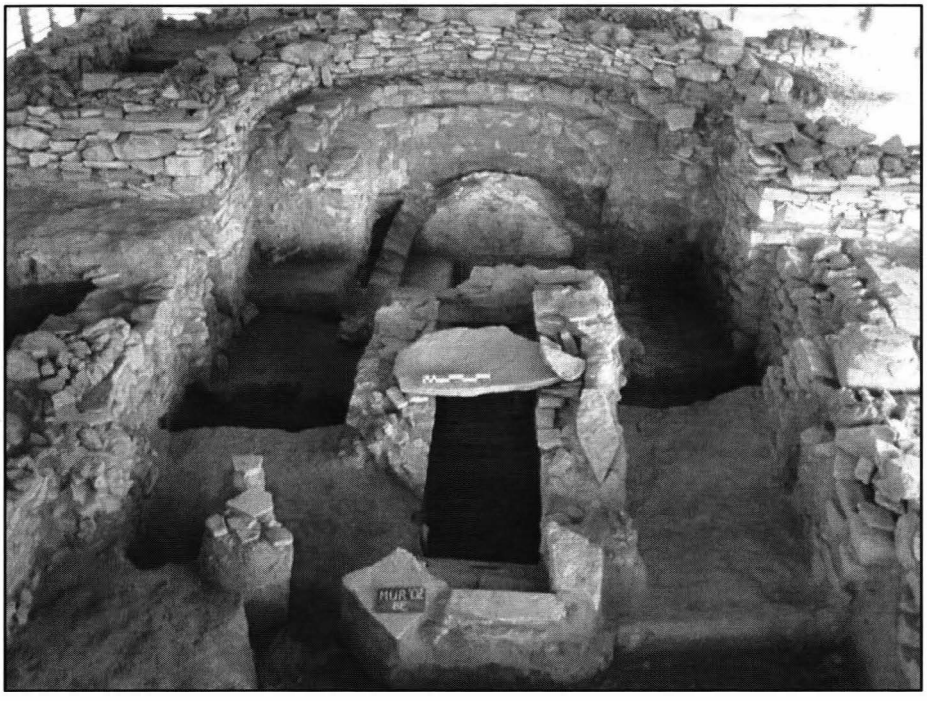

Fig. 12. Halmyris. The interior of the Episcopal basilica.

[13] C. Scorpan, *Date arheologice referitoare la secolele VI şi VII pe teritoriul Dobrogei. Rezultate inedite la Tropaeum şi Sacidava*, Pontica 5, 1972, 365-366.

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The archaeological evidence with regard to end of the Episcopal basilica at Halmyris is conjectural. Except the particular situation at the martyrs' crypt (see below) which is a reference point in this discussion, the only significant element is the circular stone and clay structure with traces of an oven to the east, found in the annex building. This type of construction brings back into discussion the question of the so-called *rotundas* buildings of the same circular form on the last levels of occupation at Histria, Tropaeum and Sacidava[14]. The 6th century pottery and a bone belt buckle found next to this structure is slim evidence for a more accurate dating. However, the circular building in the annex is a clear indication that towards the end of the 6th century the basilica was no more in use. The last occupation level (XIII) within the Halmyris fortified area is marked by small sized stone and clay, half-buried rectangular dwellings, datable with coins from Phocas over struck in 614, during Heraclius' reign. The coins associated with the specific type of habitat are certain elements for dating the last occupation level. Although there are no traces of fire were at the church surface, the end seems to have been rather sudden, as results from the investigation of the martyrs' crypt.

THE CRYPT OF THE MARTYRS

The *presbyterium* area was investigated in 2001-2003. Under a 1 m thick layer of collapsed, large well cut stone blocks coming from the altar's walls remains of a human skeleton in a crouched position have been found, laying down on a c. 25-30 cm thick well-packed clay bed (Fig. 13). Two 6th century oil lamps with visible traces of prior usage were found next to the skeleton[15]. The presence of the human remains is not accidental and the archaeological context indicates a burial in a certain ritual. The anthropological expertise identified the skeleton as being of female sex which increased the suspicion that the crouched position of the skeleton and the location of the interment points to a non-Roman and non-Christian burial rite, although Roman artifacts were used. One might think, maybe, of a high ranking person from outside the Roman world buried in this very place sometime in the late 6th or early 7th century, in a period when the Episcopal basilica had been taken out of use for some time. The collapsed stone blocks found over the skeleton showed no traces of mortar suggesting that the deceased was set on the clay bed and covered by a small room-like stone building[16].

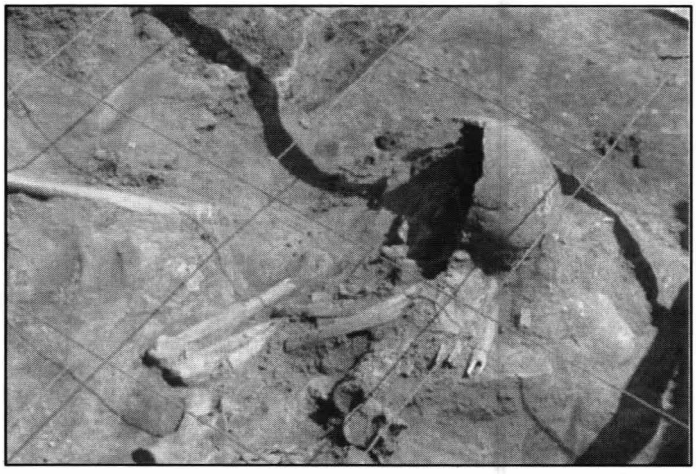

Fig. 13. Halmyris. The late 6th century burial.

The further research of the area disclosed that the burial was set on the top of a segment of a larger building complex (Fig. 14). Its general layout and positioning in relation with the altar indicated the existence of a crypt that typologically fits well the known pattern for this category of monuments in the Roman Empire, basically identified with martyrium/ martyricon. The Halmyris crypt is of *hypogaeum* type, situated under the altar and beneath the pavement of the church. In contrast with the stone and clay structure of the basilica and its

[14] Fl. Topoleanu, *Ceramica romană şi romano-bizantină de la Halmyris*, Bucureşti, 2000, p. 186 nr. 475; pl. LIX.

[15] For anthropological expertise see: N. Mirițoiu, A.D. Soficaru, *Studiu anthropologic al osemintelor descoperite în cripta basilicii de la Murighiol (anticul Halmyris)*, Peuce S.N. 1, 2003, 531-536.

[16] H. Baumann, *Câteva precizări rezultate din cercetarea monumentului paleocreştin din comuna Niculiţel (jud. Tulcea)*, ActaMN 14, 1977, 256 pl. I/4.

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annexes, the crypt is built of bulky roughly cut mid sized stone blocks alternating with flagstones, bound with white friable mortar. The building has two rectangular rooms (R 1 and R 2), N-S oriented.

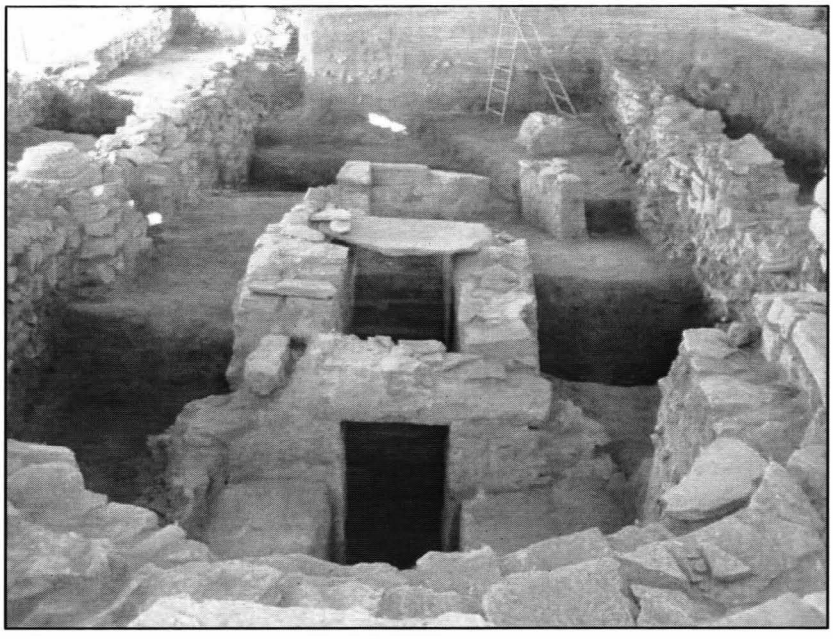

Fig. 14. Halmyris. The crypt under the altar. View from the East.

Room number 1 (R 1), on top of which the 6th century burial was found, is identifiable with the *dromos*, the common access room of this type of monuments. A 1.30m long and 1.20 m wide flagstone found in the collapsed masonry is very likely part of the ceiling of the access room.

Eight descending stairs under the brick pavement of the basilica gave access into that room from the west. A piece of pavement, preserved at 1.70m south from the northern aisle matches up exactly with the level of the first access step within the *dromos*. This significant element proofs that the pavement of the basilica, built at the same time with and around the *martyrium*, maintained its initial level from the 4th throughout 6th century. The *dromos* is 2.15 m long, 85/90/92 m. wide and 1.37 m. high. The walls are 0.65 m. thick on either side. The dromos brick pavement lies at – 2.10 m beneath the basilica's general level. The pavement is made of two different types of bricks: 28 × 28 m or 28 × 17.5 m. Remnants of small portions of plaster are still visible on the walls, (on the southern and northern walls, at the entrance in the second room). Important quantity of plaster mixed with rubble and dirt show an all over painted fresco on the dromos wall of which 99% is now destroyed. The fresco uses preferentially the red, green and black and the pictorial elements that were detected suggest vegetal motifs.

The green and red are used most, while black is occasionally. The combination fits well with the early Christian symbolism. The green is the color of vegetation, of the plant of life, the abundance in spring time. It is used to represent the triumph of life over the death. The green is also the liturgical color for the season of trinity and could be used during the Epiphany, at 6th January when the coming of the magi was celebrated. The red is the color of the blood shed during the martyrdom for the faith in Jesus and is used also as a liturgical color to commemorate the martyred saints. In the Niculitel crypt the intense red is used both to render the name of the four martyrs and also to render the blood shed: ὧδε κὲ ὧδε / ἰχὼρ μαρτύρων[17]. In the language of early Christian imagery, the decoration of the walls in the dromos of the crypt at Halmyris translates the entrance of the visitor to a green garden symbolizing the defeat of the death and the resurrection of life and reminds the onlooker the martyrs' bloodshed, a recollection that had to accompany him everywhere. The eight steps as a number in the early Christian symbolism stand for regeneration or resurrection.

[17] J. Valeva, *Les nécropoles paleochrétiennes de Bulgarie et les tombes peintes* in: Actes du Congrès International d'archéologie chrétiennes, Lyon 1986, Città del Vaticano, 1989, p. 1254, Fig. 6 (Serdica); G. Gounaris, *L'archéologie chrétienne en Grèce de 1974 à 1985, 1989* in: Actes du Congrès..., p. 2710 Fig. 18 (Veria).

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The access to mortuary room (R 2) was probably done through an opened entrance marked by two sticking wings on each side. The upper threshold is a massive limestone block bearing a facing down 4th century inscription while the lower one is a large flagstone. Room number 2, (R 2), the mortuary room, is a 2.00 m long, 1.85 m wide and 1.88 m high vaulted room (Fig. 15). The north and south arches of the vault are the only preserved parts. The room was c. 1.75–1.80 m high measured from the top vault.

Fig. 15. Halmyris. The mortuary room. View from the West.

Two 0.50 m wide and 1.02 m high brick and mortar counters on each side, 0.82 m apart served as places for the two martyrs' caskets as a second burial after their interment into an unknown location (Fig. 16). The bottom room is paved with 28 × 28 cm and 28 × 17.5 cm bricks, as in the case of the dromos. The counters bear on each side rectangular panels in dark red with black borderlines.

Fig. 16. Halmyris. Counters on both sides of the mortuary room.

A thick, white plaster bedded on the eastern wall bears a painted fresco divided in two parts (Fig. 17). The upper register (Fig. 18) is the well-known semicircle like wall surrounded by the vault of the eparate registers, divided horizontally by a red stripe sided by black lines.

The upper register is the well-known semicircle like wall surrounded by the vault of the room. It is framed by a semicircular 0.05 m. wide red stripe. A rectangular black border line, sided at the interior by a thin yellow stripe, frames seven concentric circles, painted in black and sided to their interior by a thin and fine yellow streak.

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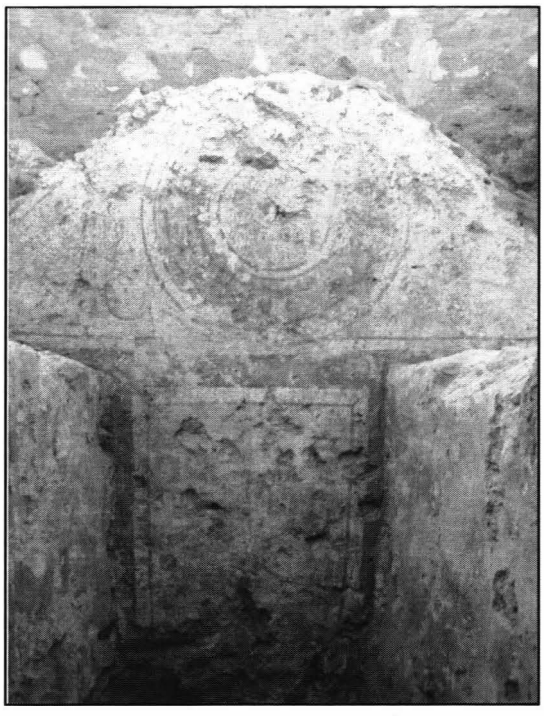

Fig. 17. Halmyris. The painted fresco on the eastern wall.

Fig. 18. Halmyris. The upper register of the painted fresco.

The number of circles, as a blessed number symbolizes the perfection and rest and appears in the Holly Bible. God rested in the seventh day after the creation, St Paul indicates seven gifts of the Holly Spirit and Jesus Christ says seven words on the cross, as there are seven seals in the Book of Life. The circles enclose figurative representations, but the state of preservation of the painting makes any identification very difficult. A wreath of flowers is likely. It is not unusual but it is rarely used. The eastern wall of the tomb 4 in the Serdica necropolis dated to the second half of the 4th century contains a similar representation with four concentric circles and the *chi rho* sign framed by the letters alpha and omega in the middle. The entire central motif is surrounded by a wreath of leaves. The wreath framing the cross is shown on a wall of the tomb 13 in the western cemetery at Veria, also datable in the first half of the 4th century[18].

The wreath as a motif, although not largely spread seems to be a remarkable 4th century manifestation of a real artistic community showing structural composition, similar motifs and symbols: Rome, Sicily, Balkan provinces and even the Black Sea regions.

[18] D. Gáspár, *Christianity in Roman Pannonia. An evaluation of Early Christian finds and sites from Hungary*, BAR International Series 1010, 2002, Oxford, p. 66-91.

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There is a perfect framing of the colors between the circles 2 and. 5, and also the alternation of red and blue. This was possible because the artist firstly laid down the blue ground, the color of the sky, heaven and truth and in a wider sense the return of Jesus on Earth. The red, possibly roses is the symbol of the martyrdom.

The hacdera at the bottom of the circles is an element taken over by the early Christian art from the traditional Roman art, a motif widely spread in the province of Scythia, as a characteristic element on the 4th–5th century epigraphic monuments.

The two candelabras that frame both sides of the circles are well known symbols as representative for the transposition of Jesus' words (John 8.12: ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου).

The concentric circles enclose a painted in black inscription in Greek language.

The preserved text reads (Fig. 19).

MAP[TY]C [XPICTOY]
MAPT[YC] XP[ICTOY]
[.....] AN [.....]
BO[H ΘI ?.....]
5. AIP [.....] ACTIO
N OIC KO[.....]Ω
YBPI[ZA?]NTIA

Fig. 19. Halmyris. The inscription framed by the concentric circles.

The lower register is a separate, rectangular panel evidenced by a black thin line of paint that takes over the tract of the upper representation descending along the two "counters" (Fig. 20).

Fig. 20. Halmyris. The lower register.

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On the white plaster the *chi rho* sign was painted in red. Another red horizontal line is also fairly visible resulting in the well known cross-like and *chi-rho* common representations.

The archaeological inventory in R 2 is far from being rich but contains artifacts that stress its character of mortuary room: a fragment of an amphora bearing the pentagram sign incised in the raw paste before the burning; a hook from a votive light; a fragment of a vase bearing the stylized fish, also incised in the raw paste.

A first violent intervention at the crypt seems to have happened in an earlier period, possible even in the 4th century. The vault appears broken on its southern side. The damage was followed by a later improvised and rudimentary repair in clay. This first destruction of the crypt seems to coincide with another important instance observable at the painted fresco on the eastern wall. A careful cleaning of the painting disclosed that the inscription and circles were covered with a layer of fine white plaster, noticeable in different places (Fig. 21). It is certainly not accidental and it appears to have been a later intervention, very likely to drape the inscription and the symbolic representations. There has certainly been a non-Christian deed and it is highly suspected that it happened throughout the resurrection of the traditional Greek-Roman religion and even persecutions unleashed during the Julian Apostate's reign when many Christian places were closed. The Christian symbols therefore had to disappear and the alternative chosen by local authorities at Halmyris was to cover to painting with white plaster. After the Julian's death, when the painting was restored and the layer removed, the attempts ended up in a first deterioration of the painted fresco, if not heavily, at least in a certain perceptible measure.

Fig. 21. Halmyris. White plaster covers the initial fresco.

The second violent intervention at the crypt seems to have happened also from outside, both for looting and as an anti-Christian manifestation. This appears to have been the final destruction that was followed by its total ruin and its filling in with rubble from the collapsed walls (stones, mortar and dirt). It can not be excluded an organized intervention to level the entire area. This might be an explanation of the laying down of the clay bed over the *dromos* for the setting of the deceased female. The destruction heavily affected not only the structure of the monument but also the picture in its entirety. The signs of violent strikes inflicted with rigid objects (swords, axes) appear obvious in certain places and especially in the middle of the main painting.

Traces of violation of the interior are also obvious in the disposition of human bones. They were not found in an anatomical position, but scattered on a large surface in both rooms, suggesting that the initial two caskets containing the remains of the two individuals were purposely dispersed once the violators broke in. It is very likely however that even the initial burial into the crypt did not set the bones in an anatomical position given their first burial into a secret place until after 324, immediately after the execution.

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This type of burial complex is known in some other areas, although the interior arrangement of the annexes and themes of the painted frescos are quite different. The so-called catacomb of Priscilla in Rome, dated by early 4th century, is one of the closest examples to our monument. Also some of the 4th century tombs in Pećs are also good instances to compare the architecture and display of early Christian themes in such particular complexes[19].

The hypogeum type of the crypt and the subterraneous access is not a novelty in the archaeological environment in the province of Scythia. The most explicit analogy is the big basilica from Tomis[20]. The access to the large crypt under the presbyterium was made through three levels of steps with reposing intervals in between. The last interval offered an eight steps descendant line. Although the martyrs' crypt at Tomis is more elaborated there is no clear information as yet on the composition of the painting or the colors that have been used.

The basilicas with small crypts are known in several places in the province of Scythia (today Dobroudja): Tropaeum Traiani – the simple basilica, the basilica with transept, the cistern basilica, Beroe, Axiopolis[21]. Except the Tomis, Niculițel and Beroe crypts of significant size, there are no other large monuments of this type in the province, although small crypts survived in other churches. The generous space destined to lay down the remains of the martyrs in the area of presbyterium is a 4th century characteristic, and especially to Constantinian epoch. The small crypts from Tropaeum, Histria – the basilica on the west side of the defense wall, the Episcopal basilica – are specific to the 6th century when the space within the church was already occupied by previous structures and the churches were not erected specifically for the celebration of the cult of the martyrs' remains what would imply rearrangements of interior areas., but only to house them. The large sized crypts appear manifestly in the centers that had been previously declared bishoprics in the 6th century, a proof that to becoming a bishopric the town was required to have had previously at least one martyrs' crypt.

The three main elements that are fortunately plainly readable on the inscription: Μάρτυς Χριστοῦ in double version, the name of one of the martyrs recorded in the Acta Sanctorum Julii 8, Ἀστίον (AXTION) and in particular the verb ὑβρίζω = to treat despitefully, to outrage, to insult, to maltreat, show clearly that this *martyrium* was built for sheltering the bones of the two individuals who were tortured and executed at Halmyris, Epictetus and Astion.

The account, recorded in *Vita Sanctorum Epicteti presbyteri et Astioni monachi,* specifically mentions that they lived in the second half of the 3rd century. There are some hints in the text that indicate that Epictetus and Astion had their origin in Asia Minor, from a city that had access to the Black Sea, very likely from Bithynia which had long standing and traditional relations with Scythia[22].

The story also relates that Astion's parents, Marcellina and Alexander, journeyed to Halmyris in search for their son. Upon arrival they were met by Vigilantius, the supreme judge of the town (*questionarius*) in the port and informed them that their son had been executed. The parents returned to their home country as believers in Jesus Christ[23].

The account seems to have been written immediately after the execution of the two Christians by somebody who was very well acquainted with the local topography and realities. Vigilantius, who, it is said in the account, converted himself to Christianity during the events, seems to be the most likely candidate.

The text of the martyrdom of the Christians Epictetus and Astion is known enough and we will not insist upon many of the details. Its veracity does not seem to have been doubted by most of exegetes of the text, who considered it as relating to a historical event. The archaeological, anthropological and epigraphic expertise arisen from the investigated monument support the real existence of the two Christians and the authenticity of the events that took place at Halmyris at the end of the 3rd century. It is particularly significant

[19] I. Barnea, *Arta creştină în România.* I. *Secolele III-VI*, Bucureşti, 1979, 132-133.

[20] For Tropaeum see Barnea, *op. cit.*, 156-157 (the simple basilica); 158-159 (basilica with transept); for Beroe see V.H. Baumann, *Sângele martirilor*, Constanța, 2004, p. 53-54 fig. 5; see in general: I Barnea, *Le cripte della basiliche paleocristiane della Scizia Minore*, RÉSEE 19, 1981, p. 489-491.

[21] ASS Julii II. I 10: *ambo ab urbe egrediuntur et descendentes navim[...].*

[22] The account is given in the last chapter of the text: IV, 32-49.

[23] E.g. P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* III, Oxford, 1987, 76.

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on the other hand that every single account in the text on Halmyris events that doesn't have a direct connection with religious affairs is archaeologically confirmed.

A philological, historical and literary gender on this account is soon forthcoming. Some remarks on less known historical, topographical and archaeological aspects as reflected in the information in *Vita Sanctorum Epicteti presbyteri et Astioni monachi* are in these circumstances essential.

The epigraphic inquiry on the two names Epictetus and Astion revealed the fact that if Epictetus, is a relatively largely spread name in the micro-Asiatic social environment in the Ist–4th centuries, Astion is much less known. The name has a certain frequency in the centuries before Jesus Christ in Thessaly, where it is particularly characteristic. Its presence in Asia Minor would have been the result of a perpetuation of the name in the social environment dominated by the descendants of the massive group of colonists settled in western Asia Minor, Bithynia and Phrygia, especially in the Hellenistic period[24].

The two Christians lived 17 years at Halmyris. Their arrival here would have happened previous to the first years of Diocletian's reign; regardless the skeptics who believe in the 303 as the year of their martyrdom, or 290 as a series of historical hints seem to demonstrate.

They seem to have suddenly left their province, very likely Bithynia, and journeyed by sea to the mouth of the Danube, to Halmyris (*Almyridensium civitas*) in the province of Scythia (*in Scytharum fines*)[25]. During the seventeen years of residency at Halmyris, they allegedly converted small groups of people to Christianity. Conversion of the population in mass seems to have been less likely and a passage referring to the Christianization of more than 1000 people in a single day (*plus quam mille animae in illa die crediderunt in Dominum Salvatorem*)[26], must be rather taken as an important evidence of the demographic situation at that time around the Halmyris fort.

The text raises some interesting issues as far as the location of the events. The account seems to show clearly that Epictetus and Astion carried on their activity in the civil settlement, outside the fort, in the area which, by the end of the 4th century in the final redaction of the text was called *civitas Almiridensium*. The new late administrative unit included the 2nd–3rd century fort, canabae and the military *vicus* (*vicus classicorum*). The area outside the fort which is surrounded by two earthen walls to the west witnessed late 3rd and early 4th century a remarkable progress both urban and demographic, a fact that conferred it the status of a *civitas* by the end of the 4th century a status that was confirmed in the 6th century by the Hierocles' list for Scythia. On their arrival at Halmyris, Epictetus and Astion found initially a mansion (*mansio*) to live in, a location which they later changed it with a modest house, *habitaculum*[27].

From here, they "descend" to the Danube to take water out of the Danube, a fact which is twice recorded in the text[28]. The harbor, *portus* of the town is recorded three times[29]. The surveys, aerial photography and gradiometric investigations confirm entirely the existence of a large area of harbor activities and stone structures related to a river port. Eight 2nd century inscriptions, reused as reconstruction material at the northern gate in late 3rd century, record a *vicus classicorum* as part of the large civil settlement and as a clear evidence of the existence of a naval base (see note 3).

In 290 A.D. the duke (*dux*) of the province of Scythia, Latronianus, arrived at Halmyris in order to inspect the reconstruction activities at the fort. The purpose of the duke's visit was the inspection of the progress of the reconstruction works and reorganization of the administrative structures at Halmyris (*opera publica et imperialia ministeria, quae ibidem errant, pervidisset*)[30], definitely as part of the Tetrarchic program of the reassessment of the Danube frontier. A massive reconstruction phase was revealed at the northern and western gates by late 3rd – early 4th century. A Tetrarchic building inscription dated to 301-305 that marked the ending of the reconstruction works confirms the archaeological evidence (see note 3).

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[24] Ἀστούν, Ἀστίων in Thessaly; SEG XLV 554 (Atrax); XXIII 437, 13 (Krannon); XXX 567 (Larissa); IG IX (2) 91, 70 (Narthakion, in Achaia Phtiotis).

[25] ASS Julii I 9.

[26] Idem, II 15.

[27] Idem, III 12; III 19; see also *domuncula* in IV 34 and *cella sanctorum* in IV 37.

[28] Idem, II 15; 17.

[29] Idem IV 33.

[30] Idem, III 19.

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The *praetorium* in which the duke resided for some time (*Latronianus*[...] *primo diluculo venit in praetorium*)[31] was identified with Edifice 1 located roughly in the middle of the fort having a clear 4th century phase of reconstruction[32].

Occasioned by the presence of the duke and the intense Christian propaganda of the two newcomers, some local people informed him that there were two individuals who did not abide by the traditional religion and led astray the people from the sacrifices due to the Roman deities (*quod malefici sunt et magi, multos per sua veneficia averterent iam a sacrificiis deorum*)[33]. They were, therefore, condemned and decapitated as ordered by the duke[34].

A first draft of the account could have been written even during the events related to the trial of Epictetus and Astion as it is known that many of the official reports of the courts set for such trials were preserved and served as initial drafts for the future acts of the saints (martyrs). One can explain therefore why topographic details of a remarkable precision are confirmed almost entirely by the archaeological investigations.

In the account of the trial process a dignitary, Vigilantius, *quaestionarius*, suddenly appears and becomes gradually the key personage in the entire story. *Quaestionarii* were the inquirers in the army. Praesides were usually part of the headquarters of the civil governors of the province[35]. Normally, therefore the trial had to be conducted by the *praeses*, as shown in quite a few cases. Thus, Vigilantius was either the representative of the civil governor at Halmyris and came to investigate the case, which would have been the normal procedure, or was part of the duke's staff in which case the military commander of the province (*dux*) assigned himself the role of the judge in an *ad hoc* court, a role that was allotted in fact to the civil governor (*praeses*). Would it be possible at this early date of provincial organization of Scythia that the military and civil functions to have been concentrated in the hands of a single high dignitary?

Vigilantius seems also responsible of the detailed description of the topography and the report about the two Christians during and after the trial and execution. That this was the situation, is proved by the passage in which Vigilantius informs the bishop of Tomis, Evangelicus, arrived a little later, about the events 'in an orderly manner everything that had happened' (*exponentesque illi per ordinem cuncta, quae acta fuissent*)[36]. The drawing up of such reports was usually done by the service of *a libellis*, officers named in Notitia Dignitatum, that accompanied the courts during the trials of crime against the state[37] and they were written up at the order of the governor, if he was present or by the officer who conducted the trial, in that case Vigilantius.

Would have been possible that a later author of the martyrdom of Epictetus and Astion by late 4th century at the earliest to render topographical and architectonical details about places that witnessed the events, or could he have traveled especially to Halmyris to describe the places? We categorically believe that the answer is negative in both cases.

The torture and execution of Astion and then Epictetus, mirrored in the anthropological expertise as well as the presence of the verb ὑβρίζω in the inscription from the crypt seems not to have happened in the interior of the fort which, at the date of the event and along the 4th century still maintained the characteristics of a military base of a *castra* type, recorded in the legislation of the time. The setting of a trial tribunal in the middle of the town ordered by the duke (*iubet tribunal praeparari in media civitate*)[38] could not have taken place in a fort, an area exclusively limited to the military activities, but outside, in the civil settlement, where the Halmyris population could have been brought and gathered together to attend the trial: '*tam nefandum et horridum spectaculum multitudinem populi invitarent*'.

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[31] Idem, III 20.

[32] Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, F. Topoleanu, Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Halmyris* I. *Monografie arheologică*, Cluj. Napoca, 2003, p. 65-78.

[33] ASS III 19.

[34] Idem, III 31.

[35] ISM II 382.

[36] ASS, IV 47.

[37] On *a libellis* see W. Ensslin, *Realencyclopädie* IV, 1932, p. 489-490.

[38] ASS III 20.

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Is the anthropological expertise echoed in the literary evidence? A study in this journal answers this question specifically and on a larger scale.

Epigraphic evidence confirms also entirely the events related to the martyrdom of Epictetus and Astion. The inscription on the eastern wall of the crypt records two martyrs, through a double well-known formula Μάρτυς Χριστοῦ. It is true that the inscription preserves only the name of Astion, but the other name, Epictetus might have been wiped out once the text was badly damaged in ancient times. Even so, the appearance of the name of Astion is a decisive argument for framing the account among historical events and turning the legend into reality. Moreover, the verb ὑβρίζω = to treat despitefully, to outrage, to insult, to maltreat, on the last line of the inscription plainly expresses the tortures to which the two martyrs were subjected.

After the execution, according to the text, the two Christians were initially buried in a secret place. When the after 324, therefore after 35–40 years, Constantine ordered the collection of all the martyrs relics and their burying in the crypts and churches the Epictetus' and Astion's remnants were reburied, although not in an anatomical position, but in caskets containing only their bones.

That an important event took place at Halmyris, it results also from the arrival of Evangelicus, named *Christi pontifex* in the text, certainly as the bishop of Tomis and of the entire province[39].

❁

The archaeological investigation of the basilica and the martyrs' crypt at Halmyris occasioned not less than four categories of sources (archaeological, epigraphic, anthropological and literary) to merge towards the completion and confirmation of an event during early Christian times at the Lower Danube. We are in a position to ascertain three undeniable realities in different but related domains: archaeology, epigraphy, and anthropology, all substantially supporting a literary source, which otherwise would have remained in the field of a simple theological or philological debate.

[39] Idem, III 26.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HUMAN BONES FOUND IN THE CRYPT FROM HALMYRIS

NICOLAE MIRIȚOIU, ANDREI D. SOFICARU

INTRODUCTION

During the late summer of 2002, the excavations at Murighiol (Tulcea county) undertaken by Mihail Zahariade and Octavian Bounegru lead to the discovery of a crypt with human remains situated under the altar of the antique Halmyris basilica.

The crypt, which it was robbed in antiquity, comprised a funeral chamber and *dromos* with descent steps. The painting and inscriptions suffered obvious important destructions (Zahariade, in the present volume, p...).

The existent bones were found scattered, without anatomical connection. The human remains were assigned by the discoverers as remains of the Christian martyrs Epictet and Astion executed in 8 July 290 A.D. at Halmyris (Zahariade & Bounegru 2002). This was the third discovery of this type on the former territory of Skythia Minor (Bauman 1972: 189-202, Barnea 1978: 182-188, Mirițoiu & Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1978: 189-207).

It is not necessary to say more about the importance of this discovery. Further on, in solving the problmes arosed by it, it was necessary to complete the archaeological facts with an anthropological analysis, and furthermore to compare the results with historical sources. It was for this reason why the bones, which were set down in the church of Celic – Dere monastery (today they are found at Tomis Archiepiscopate from Constanța) became the subject of this analysis.

Before the presentation of the results it must be specify that the bones display a yellowish – brown patina, and belong to the intermixed skeletons of two individuals. Due to the dimensional, ages, and pathologycal differences it was perfectly possible to separate all skeletal elements and reassign them with accuracy.

BURIAL 1

It was contained the mixed bones the skeletons of two individuals. These bones could be separated and assigned correctly because they have differences from point of view dimensional and pathological. They were anthropological noted, skeleton 1 and 2.

SKELETON 1

Condition of preservation and integrity

The only cranial skeleton element present was the **mandible.** It was well preserved but the top of the coronoid apophyses were broken during the excavation. Although 10 teeth have been preserved, it was possible to determine the presence of an older destruction of the incisor's socket.

The shoulder girdle was represented by the both intact **clavicles**, and by the **scapulae** with newer and older fractures. It has been restored to a high degree, although some parts were still missing.

The thorax was represented by the **sternum**, well preserved, and by numerous fragments of **ribs** presenting sternal and vertebral ends. It has been possible to restore entirely some of the ribs, and only partly some others.

Of the **vertebral column** 15 vertebras were preserved in a very good condition. Of these, 3 were cervical (C3 – C5), 8 thoracic (T5 – T12) and 4 lumbar (L1 – L4). It has been noted the absence of the first two cervical vertebras (atlas and axis).

THRACO-DACICA (Serie Nouă), Tomul I (XXIV), Nr. 1–2, 2009, p. 151–181

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Of the upper limbs were present both complete **humeri** in a very well state of preservation; the complete right **radius** was present, although the left one had to be restored from 3 fragments presenting *postmortem* fractures; the right **ulna** has been partly restored, the only missing part being a fragment of the distal third; the left **ulna** was represented by 3 fragments displaying old traces of destruction, without points of connection between them.

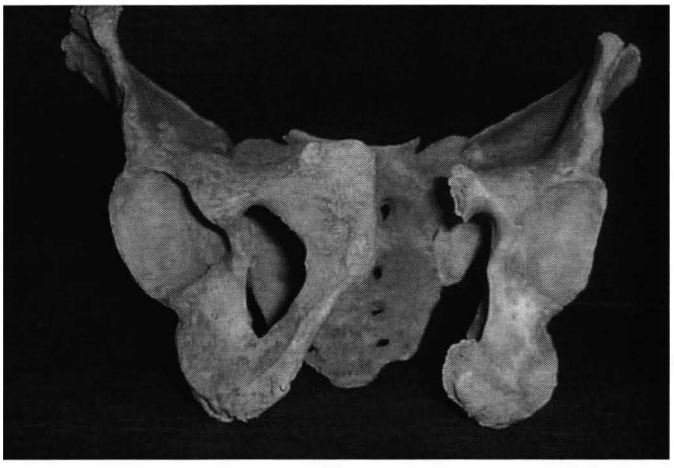
Of the area of the pelvic girdle, the right **sacrum** and **innominate** were complete. Of the left side however, were missing as a result of circumstances unrelated to excavations the innominate, pubis, the anterior portion of iliac crest and the posterior part with both posterior iliac spins. The coccyx was also missing.

The right **femur** presented an ancient destruction of the shaft's inferior third, making impossible the connection of the distal epiphysis and the rest of the diaphysis. The left femur was entirely present. Both **patellae** were missing. On the other hand, both **tibiae** were complete, and **fibulas** were restored despite of some recent damage.

From hand and foot skeleton were present some of the **metacarpals, tali** and **calcanea**, **naviculars**, **metatarsals** and **phalanges**.

Determination of sex

Considering the characteristics of the pelvic griddle (Fig. 1/1-3), the sex is undoubtedly male. The innominate presents high and narrow wings having the iliac crest at an "S" shape, and a developed muscular relief. The greater sciatic notch is narrow and deep; the preauricular sulcus is missing; the subpubian angle is acute (Ferembach, Schwidetzky and Stloukal 1979: 9-11). For more details, see the dimensions offered in the Table 1.



1.

2.

3.

Fig. 1. **Skeleton 1.** Pelvic Girdle: anterior view (1); right lateral view (2); superior view (3).

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Table 1

Metrics and indices

Nr.Martin (Bräucr 1988) Metric / Index	Burial 1		Burial 2
	Skelcton 1	Skeleton 2	
Mandible	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right / left**
65.	131	-	-
66.	120	-	93
68.	72	-	77
69.	-	35	31,5
69 (1).	31 / 34	40 / -	29.5 / -
69 (2).	24 / 26	29 / -	29 / -
69 (3).	14 / 14.5	14 / -	11 / -
69 b.	16 / 17	15 / -	12.5 / -
70.	62	65	-
71.	30.5 / 32	36.5 / -	29 / -
79.	123	115	128
I. 62.	54.96	-	-
I. 62 (1).	-	82.85 / -	92.06 / -
I. 63.	41.19 / 51.61	56.15 / -	-
I. 64.	91.60	-	-
I. 66.	45.16 / 42.64	35 / -	37.28 / -
Sternum			
1.	140	-	-
2.	47 (?)	-	43
3.	98	115	73
4.	62 (?)	-	47
5.	40	55	28
Length – width sternum index (5:1)	28.57	-	-
Length – width body index (5:3)	40.91	34.78	54.79
Clavicle	**right / left**	**right / left**	**dr.**
1.	146 / 157	164 / 157	128
4.	11 / 11	12 / 12	9
5.	13 / 14.5	14.5 / 13	12
6.	37 / 42	42 / 39	34
Robustness index (6:1)	25.34 / 26.75	25.60 / 24.84	26.56
Section index (4:5)	84.61 / 75.86	82.75 / 92.30	75
Scapula	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right / left**
2.	/ 108	-	-
12.	37 / 39	43 / 42	33 / 34
13.	30 / 30	33 / 31	24 / 22
Glenoid fossa index (13:12)	81.08 / 76.92	76.74 / 73.80	72.72 / 64.70
Humerus	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right / left**
1.	325 / 314	356 / -	- / 298
2.	318 / 309	350 / -	- / 294
3.	64 / 64	69 / -	- / 54
5.	25 / 25	27 / 26	24.5 / 20
6.	19 / 19	19 / 19	16 / 16
7.	65 / 66	70 / 70	56 / 53
7a.	72 / 70	76 / 74	60 / 57

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8.	150 / 140	150 (?) / 146	123 / -
9.	46 / 43.5	- / 45	40 / 39
10.	48 / 47	50.5 / 50	40 / -
Robustness index (7:1)	20 / 21.01	19.66 / -	- / 17.78
Section index (6:5)	76 / 76	70.37 / 73.07	65.30 / 80
Section of head index (9:10)	95.83 / 92.55	- / 90	100 / -
Radius	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right / left**
1.	248* / 246	273 / -	220
1b.	247 / 245	270 / -	218
3.	42 / 43	48 / 47	38
4.	17 / 17	20 / 19	16
4 (1).	23* / 23 *	24 / 26	20
5.	13 / 13.5	14 / 14	11
5 (1).	23* / 22*	25 / 25	21
5 (4).	42 / 44	48 * / -	46
5 (5).	47 / 47	52 / 51	40
5 (6).	34 / 33.5	37 / 38	29
Robustness index (3:1)	16.93* / 17.47	17.58 / -	17.27
Section index (5:4)	76.47 / 79.41	70 / 73.68	68.75
Ulna	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right / left**
1.	272 / -	- / 292	241
2.	239 / -	260 / 260	206
3.	41 / 43	43 / 45	32
11.	17 / 16	16 / 16	13
12.	19 / 20	20 / 20	16
Robustness index (3:2)	17.15 / -	16.53 / 17.30	15.53
Section index (11:12)	89.47 / 80	80 / 80	81.25
Os Coxae	**right / left**	**right / left**	**-**
9.	227 / -	231 / 238	-
9a.	145 / -	- / 154	-
15a.	89 / -	- / 67	-
15 (1).	38 / 38	34 / 38	-
17a.	82 / -	- / 81	-
14 (1).	45 / 44	- / 42	-
- spino – sciatic distance (Gaillard)	74 / 73	- / 77	-
- spino – auricular distance (Gaillard)	79 / 79	- / 80	-
Ischium-pubic index (Schultz) (17a:15a)	92.13 / -	- / 83.50	-
Cotylo-sciatique index [15(1):14(1)]	84.44 / 86.36	- / 90.47	-
Sacrum	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right / left**
1.	122	150	99
2.	110	122	87
5.	116	126.5	102
6.	20	40	21
14.	64 / 70	66 / 68	55 / 55
15.	23 / 22	25 / 25	-
19.	60 (?)	60	52
22.	59	62	62.5°
- Height S1	33	34	26
- Proc. artic. med. distance	25	22	30
- Proc. artic. lat. distanța	60	60	58

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Sacral index (5:2)	105.45	103.68	117.24
Curvature index (2:1)	90.16	81.33	117.24
Concavity index (6:2)	18.18	32.78	24.13
Femur	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right**
1.	- / 447	- / 468	403
2.	- / 445	- / 466	401
3.	- / 436	459 / 458	397
6.	34 / 34.5	37 / 35	29
7.	33.5 / 32	33 / 33	26
8.	102 / 102	109 / 104	82
9.	37 / 36	40 / 40	30
10.	26 / 26	31 / 31	24
13.	98 / 99	- / 108	85
17.	98 / 98	- / 108	80
18.	46 / 46	- / 51	40
19.	45 / 45	- / 49	39
21.	78 / 79	85 / 86	71
29.	- / 129	- / 118°	124°
Massiveness index (8:2)	- / 22.92	- / 22.31	20.44
Robustness index (6+7:2)	- / 14.94	- / 14.59	13.71
Pilastric index (6:7)	101.49 / 107.81	112.12 / 106.06	111.53
Platimetric index (10:9)	70.27 / 72.22	77.5/ 77.5	80
Section of head index (19:8)	97.82 / 97.82	- / 96.07	97.5
Robustness head index (19+18:2)	- / 20.44	- / 21.45	19.70
Patella		**right / left**	
1.	-	45.5 / 47	-
2.	-	- / 48	-
3.	-	23 / 24	-
Height – breadth index (1:2)	-	- / 102.12	-
Tibia	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right**
1.	383 / 385	390 / 397.5	328
1a.	391* / 389	396 / 402.5	334
1b.	378 / 381	388 / 395.5	325
3.	83* / 79	79 / 80	63
6.	47 / 50	51 / 55	43
8.	36* / 41*	- / 34.5	29
8a.	40 / 42	37 / 36	32
9.	30* / 31*	24 / 24	21
9a.	29 / 27	25 / 25	23
10.	102* / 110*	- / 90	77
10 b.	90* / 95*	83 / 91	68
Mid section index (9:8)	83.33* / 75.60*	- / 69.56	72.41
Cnemic index (9a:8a)	72.5 / 64.28	67.56 / 69.44	71.87
Robustness index (10b:I)	23.49* / 24.42*	21.28 / 20.37	20.73
Fibula	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right**
1.	369 / 366	- / 388	-
2.	18 / 19	17 / 18	-
3.	16 / 15	16 / 15	-
4.	55 / 55	50 / 52	-
4a.	38 / 41	37 / 37	-

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4 (1).	25.5 / -	31 / 29	-
4 (2).	26.5 / 26.5	- / 27	22
Robustness index (4a:1)	10.29 / 11.20	- / 9.53	-
Section index (3:2)	88.88 / 78.94	94.11 / 83.33	-
Talus	**right / left**	**right / left**	**right**
1.	58 / 63*	56 / 56	48
2.	41 / 43	45 / 49	37
3.	33.5 / 33.5	34 / 33	29
Length – width index (2:1)	70.68 / 68.25*	80.35 / 87.5	77.08
Length – height index (3:1)	57.75 / 53.17*	60.71 / 58.92	60.41
Calcaneus	**right / left**	**right / left**	
1.	82 / 84	83 / 88*	-
2.	40 / 40.5	44 / 47	-
4.	43 / 48	49 / 50	-
Length – width index (2:1)	48.78 / 48.21	53.01 / 53.40*	-
Indices of skeleton proportions	**Burial 2**	**Skeleton 1**	**Skeleton 2**
Claviculo – humeral index (clavicle 1 : humerus 2)	-	45.91 / 50.80	46.85
Humero – radial index (radius 1 : humerus 2)	75.82	77.98 / 79.61	78 / -
Tibio – femural index (tibia 1b : femur 2)	-	- / 85.61	- / 84.87
Intermembral index (humerus 1 + radius 1 : femur 1 + tibia 1)	-	- / 68.30	-
Humero – femoral index (humerus 2 : femur 2)	-	- / 69.43	-
Tibio – radial index (radius 1 : tibia 1)	-	64.75 / 63.89	70 / -
Height patella index (patella 1 : femur 1 + tibia 1)	-	-	- / 5.43
Width patella index (rotulă 2 : femur 21)	-	-	- / 55.81

Also, through massiveness and robustness (visual and dimensional – using univariate and multivariate analysis) the entire skeleton confirms this diagnosis (Černy and Komenda 1976: 67-70; Pettener and Brasili Gualandi 1979: 59-68; Pettener, Brasili Gualandi and Cavicchi 1980: 363-372).

Estimation of age

Individual's age at death was determined using the Nemeskéri, Harsány and Acsádi (1960: 70-95) method, based on the cranial suture closure, the changes occurring at the level of the pubic diaphysis, and resorption of the spongy bone of proximal epiphyses of the humerus and femur observed by sagital sections.

The surface of the pubic symphysis shows the 4th phase evolution, the humerus epiphysis shows the same phase, and the femur's the 3rd phase (Fig. 2/1–3). Correlating these three factors with information offered by the tables calculated by Sjøvold (1975: 9-22), it was possible to estimate a chronological age of death of about 64.67 years, allowing an error of ± 3 years, and a degree of confidence of about 80–85%. This age period was confirmed by the wearing stage of the mandible dentition (Fig. 2/4).

Anthropological features

Due to the fact that the skull was missing, below was described only the anthropological features of the mandible and postcranial skeleton (see the dimension in the table 1).

The **mandible** is robust and it has the gonions only slightly turned up. After the scale of Alexeev and Debetz (1964: 112-127), bicondylar and bigonial breadth are consistent with the "very large" category, and the projective length of the corpus mandibulae with the "small" category. The height of the ascending ramus and of the mandibular angle is "medium". The height and the thickness at the foramen mentale and their indices also place it in the category of high digits.

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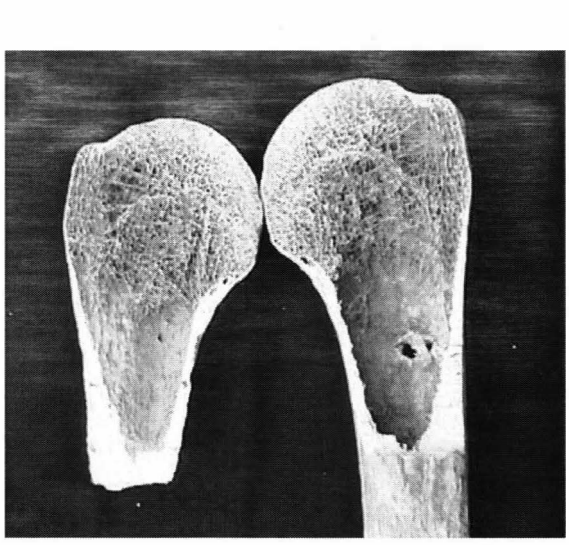

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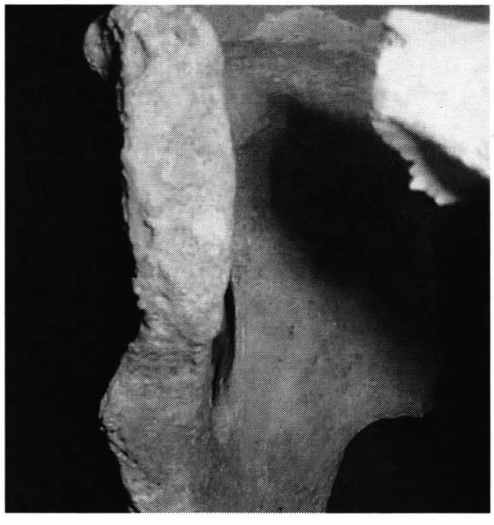

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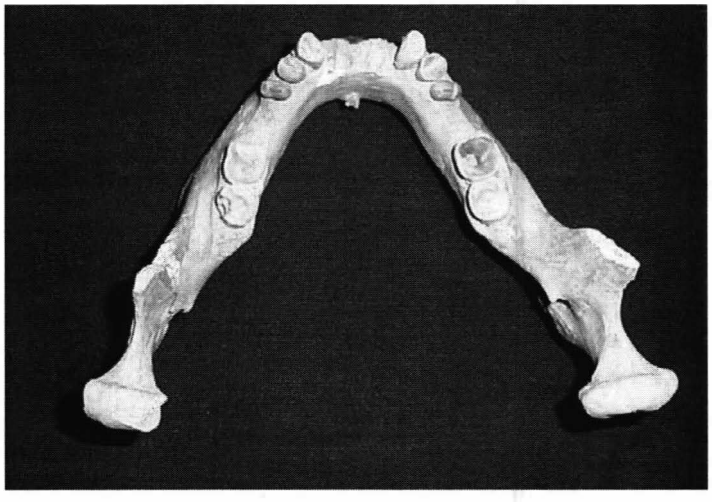

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Fig. 2. **Skeleton 1.** Elements for ageing: sagittal sections of the left humerus epiphyses, IV phase (1); sagittal section of the left femur, III phase (2); pubic symphysis (3); mandible, occlusal surfaces of the teeth with strong wear (4).

The **postcranial skeleton** is robust and in a eutrophic state, contrary to the age and pathology (which will be described below). Muscular insertions are developed. The **femurs** present a *linea aspera* weakly developed for the right leg, and a medium developed one for the left. In the subtrochanterian region the bone is much flattened hyperplatimer, although more precisely marked for the right element.

The **sacrum** has a hyperplatyhieric (middle wide) sacral index.

Tibiae present a cnemic index; a euricnem category for the right bone, and a mesocnem for the left, showing no flatteness in the nutritive foramen region.

Stature has been calculated according to the length of the leg bones using classical methods (see Table 2). Therefore, the methods advanced by Manouvrier (1893: 347-402), Pearson & Lee (1899: 169-244), Olivier (1963: 433-449), and Breitinger (1938: 249-274) lead to an estimation of 167-169 cm stature, consistent with the "supermedium" category postulated by Martin (1914: 2080). Trotter and Gleser (1952: 463-514) (whites) method offers an estimation of 172 cm which is integrated in the "large" category of stature.

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Table 2

Stature determination after the length of bone legs

Method Metrics (Manouvrier 1899	Burial 1				Burial 2 woman
	Skeleton 1 male		Skeleton 2 male		
	Right	Left	Right	Left	
H. 1.	165.8	162.8	176.7		155.9
R. 1.	168.3	167.7	183.0		157.5
C. 1	171.0		171.3	182.4	158.7
F. 2.		166.4		169.6	152.2
T. 1.	169.7	170.4	170.1	174.2	154.0
P. 1.	167.9	167.3		173.0	
Mean	168.54	166.92	175.275	174.8	155.66
	167.73		175.0375		
(Pearson & Lee 1899)					
H. 1.	165	162	174		153.5
R. 1.	167	167	175		154.7
F. 1		165.5		169.5	151.2
T. 1.	170	170		173	151.9
H. + R.	166	164	164		154.2
F. + T.		179.5	179.5	171.5	151.4
F.; T.		167.5	167.5	171.4	151.4
H.; R.	164.6	161.5	161.5		153.7
F.; H.		163.3	163.3		
F.; T.; H.; R.		164.8	164.8		
Mean	166.52	166.51	168.7	171.35	152.75
	166.515		170.025		
(Olivier 1963)					
H. 1.	166	164	176		
R. 1.	170	170	181		
C. 1	173			183	
F. 2.		166.5		171.5	
T. 1.	172	172	174	175	
P.	169	168.5		174	
H. + F.		165			
F. + T.		169.5		173.5	
Mean	170	167.92	177	175.4	
	168.96		176.2		
(Bach 1965; Breitinger 1938)					
H. 1.	169	166.5	178		161.5
H. 2.	169.5	165	178		162
R. 1b.	170	170	177		159
F. 1.		168		171.5	159.5
T 1b.	171	171.5	173	174.5	152.5
Mean	169.87	168.2	176.5	173	158.9
	169.03		174.75		
(Trotter & Gleser 1952 – albi)					
H. 1.	170.5	167	180		158
R. 1.	173	172	182		159
C. 1.	174.5			182	160.5
F. 1.		168		173	154
T 1a.	177	177	178.5	180	158

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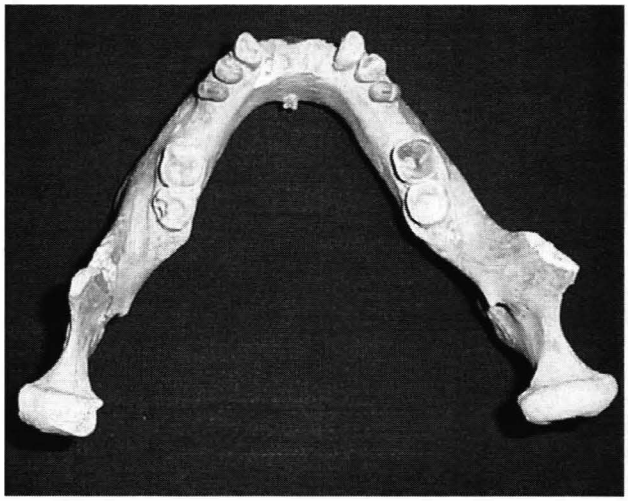
P. 1.	171	170		176	
F. + T.		172		176.5	155
Mean	173.2	171	180.16	177.5	157.41
	172.1		178.83		

Note. The H, R, C, F, T and P symbols represent the long bones: humerus, radius, ulna, femur, tibia and fibula, and the number is Marin number of metric from Table 1.

Biological and pathological consideration

The **mandible** has the bilateral molars M1 lost *intravitam*, the sockets being reabsorbed. The left molar M3 presents a deep caries on the mesial side of the crown. Also, the premolars have extreme oblique wear on the lingual side, and a brown coloration due the occlusal caries which destroyed the teeth crowns. Molars M2 have a marked wear, all the occlusal side being represented by dentin only. Incisors pathology is unclear due to the destruction of the sockets (Fig. 3/1–3).

Regarding the **postcranial skeleton,** it is the vertebral column which presents an interesting pathology.



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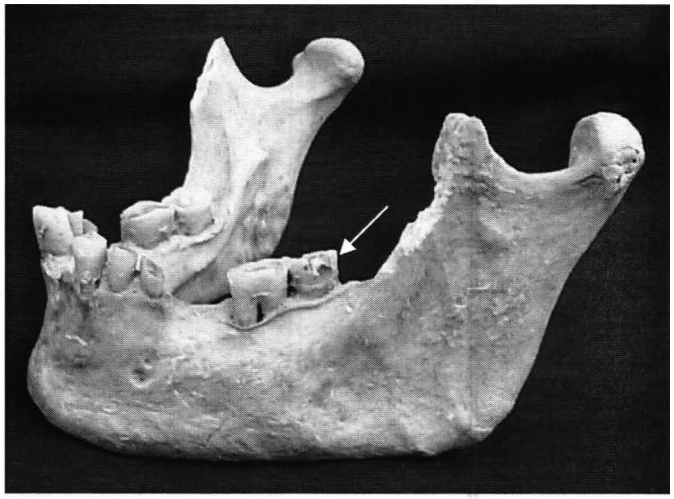

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Fig. 3. **Skeleton 1.** Mandible: superior view (1), anterior view (2) and lateral view (3). The arrow shows a penetrated vestibular decay at the molar 3 neck.

The preserved thoracic vertebrae (T5 – T12), built up a vertebral block due to the ossification of the anterior ligaments. On the left side and on the center this ossification overshadows completely the vertebral bodies. On the

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left side these vertebrae are covered only in the T9 – T10 sector (Fig. 4/1–3 and Fig. 5). The intervertebral discs of this vertebral block did preserve same dimensions: the superior and inferior articular surfaces of the vertebral bodies are normal, without herniations. It was not possible to record any ossification of some intervertebral discs. The articulations of the vertebrae with the costal foveae present strong arthrosis modifications.

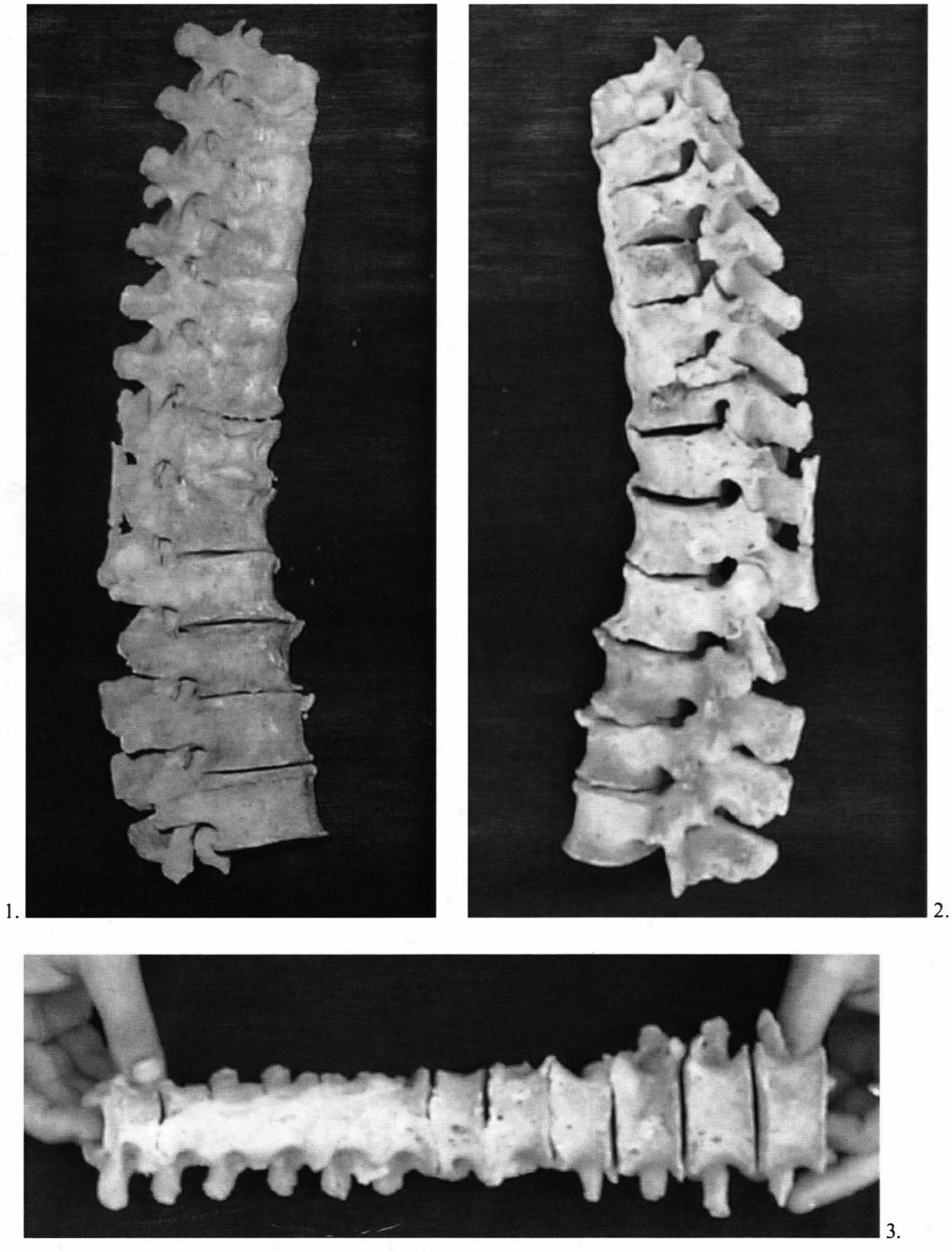

Fig. 4. **Skeleton 1.** Vertebral column. Thoracic segment T 5 – T 12 and lumbar L 1 – L 4. Right lateral view (1), left lateral view (2) and anterior view (3). It could see the vertebral block moulds by 8 thoracic vertebras.

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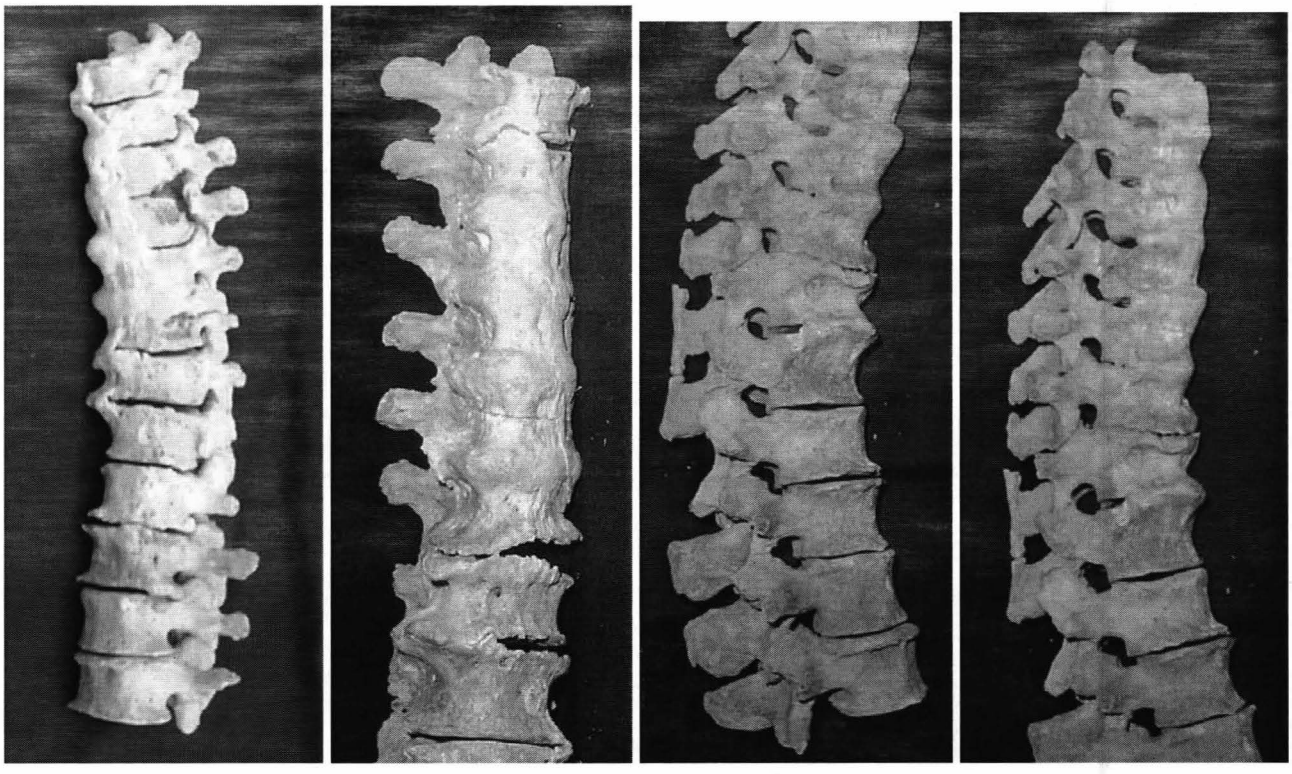

1. 2. 3. 4.

Fig. 5. **Skeleton 1.** Vertebral column, details.

This individual suffered of a chronic arthropathy, a condition belonging to the seronegative spondiloarthropathies group, characterized by the absence of the rheumatoid factor in the blood, and the tendency for axial involvement. In this group are included 4 major diseases: ankylosing spondylitis (synonyms: Marie – Strümpel's disease, von Bechterew's disease), reactive arthritis (synonym: Reiter syndrome), psoriatic spondiloarthritis and enteropathic arthritis (Dougados *et al.*, 1991: 1218/1227).

The etiology of these diseases is still unknown, the main cause being genetic (HLA system), infectious or metabolic (Duțu and Bloşoiu, 1978: 71-117).

The skeletal diagnostic criteria are: spondylitis, sacroiliitis, inflammatory enthesopathy, and synovitis (asymmetric or predominantly in the lower limbs), which could produce articular erosion (Bruintjes & Panhuysen 1995: 73-77). Therefore, because the ankylosis affected an extended sector of the axial skeleton (bamboo spine), but also the other articulations of vertebral column and all the other skeleton articulations, bellow it will be analyzed the state of these affections.

In addition to the inflammatory processes it has been observed the development of osteoarthrosis affection due to the new mechanical conditions generated by the disease.

For example, the three preserved cervical vertebrae (C3 – C5) present exostosis and osteophytes. The lumbar vertebrae (L1 – L4) developed giant exostosis and osteophyites on the superior and inferior edges of the vertebral bodies, although the articular faces are "clean", without herniations or nodules. In addition, the edge of the sacral promontory presents an exostosis continuous collar.

Except for the arthrosis of the vertebral ends of the ribs (describe above) it has been observed strong transformations of the sternal ends, which present large osteophytes and irregular cavities with large dimensions due to the old age (Iscan, Loth & Wright, 1984: 14-156).

The sternum has the costal notches very deep and rugged, and an exuberant ossification of the 1st left costal cartilage (Fig. 7 / 4–5).

At the level of the shoulder girdle exists a strong arthrosis of acromio – clavicular region (more accentuated on the right side) (Fig. 6/2, 5–6). The glenoid cavity of scapulas and the humeral heads present an incipient form of arthrosis, opposite to the articulations of the elbows which are affected by deep and serious arthrosis modifications. On the right leg, the distal epiphysis of the humerus presents osteophyte development adjacent to the trochlear joint surface, and a bony transversal exostosis bridge in the olecranon fossa.

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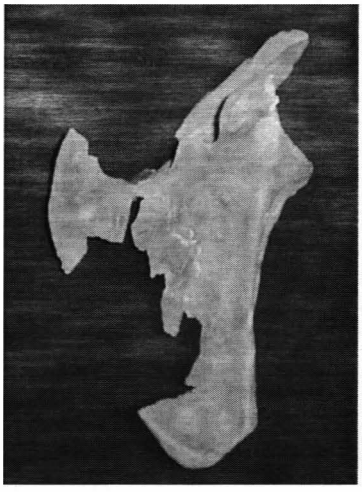

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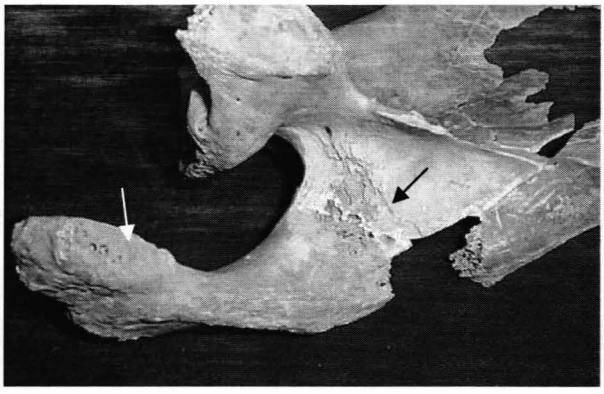

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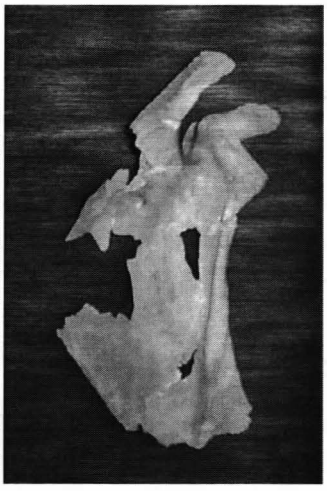

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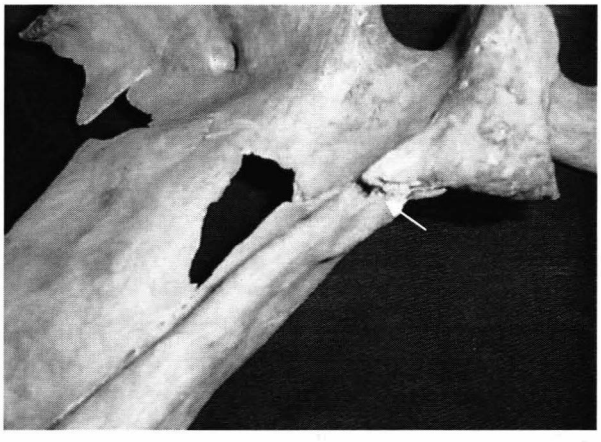

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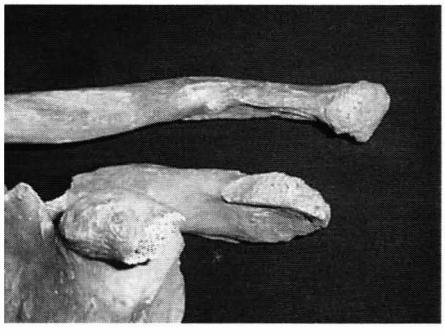

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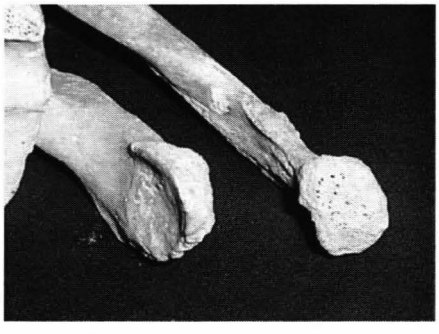

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Fig. 6. **Skeleton 1.** Left scapula: posterior view (1), supraspinous fossa with a possible perimortem fracture (black arrow) and arthrosis of acromial facet of scapula (white arrow) (2). Right scapula: anterior view (3) and a possible perimortem fracture (white arrow) (4). Osteoarthritis of acromioclavicular joint (5; 6).

There are also present eburnation areas of a polished ivory aspect, due to the destruction of the cartilage and friction of bone on bone during the movement. This kind of friction have also occurred on a large area in the medial zone of humeral trochlea, on the coronoid apophysis of medial ulna, and, on a smaller area of the lateral edges of trochlea (posterior face) and sigmoid cavity (Fig. 7/1–3). At the left elbow the arthrosis is obvious, but to a lesser degree and without bon friction.

Sacro-iliac articulations do not present modifications. It was possible to observe a giant exostosis on the superior edge of the left innominate which is nearby (without syonstosis) another one developed on the sacral wing, articular with the 5^{th} lumbar vertebra. There are also some small exostoses on the edges of the right articulation (Fig. 10/1).

Coxo-femoral articulations have been not affected, but the knees present very severe arthrosis modifications. The femurs present continuous exostosis collars on the edges of articular faces of condyles, giant exostosis at the posterior edge of medial condyles, and an inter-articular exostosis on the inferior face of medial condyle of the left femur (Fig. 8/1–4 and 10/2).

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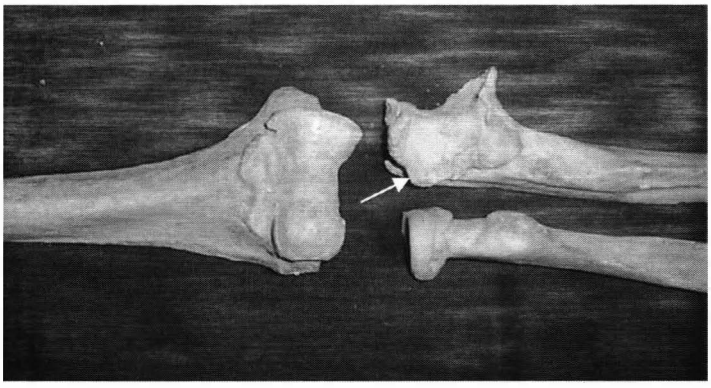

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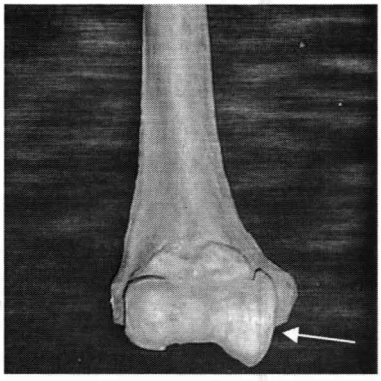

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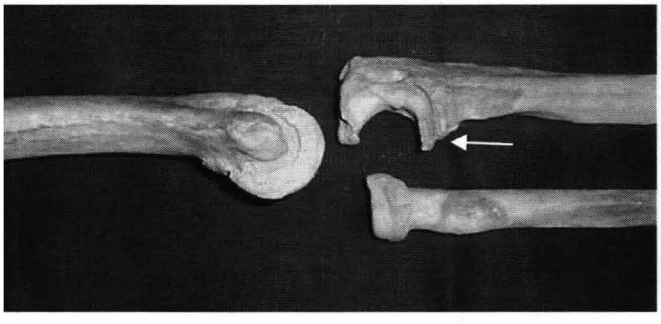

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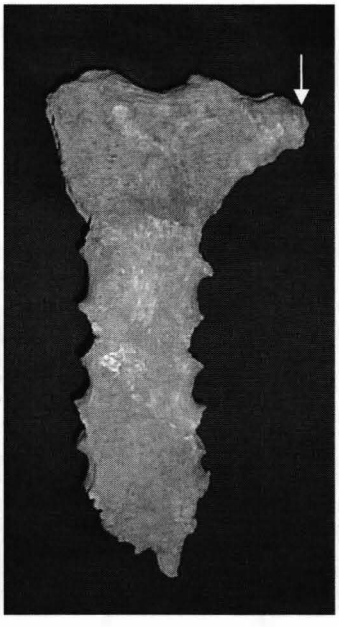

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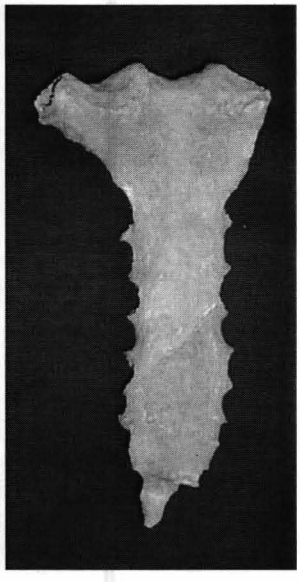

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Fig. 7. **Skeleton 1.** Elbow joint (humerus, radius and ulna) with a strong arthrosis, lippings and eburnation of surface (arrows) (1; 2; 3). Sternum, anterior (4) and posterior (5) view. The arrow shows an exuberant ossification of 1st costal cartilage.

Furthermore, the edges of the articular tibial plateaus developed marginal lipping more accentuated and of a "mushroom" shape for the right side. Tibial spines also present giant exostosis (Fig. 9/1–3). A friction area appears only on the medial condyles of both femurs in the antero – superior area (Fig. 8/2). For the right tibia the friction surface is larger then it appears on the left tibia. All these problems were caused by the strong friction of bone on bone and on the articular lateral sides of patella, do to an abnormal posture. As in the superior limbs, it was the right part of the body which became more affected: the right knee suffered arthrosis transformation more severely developed then left knee.

The same situation was identified at articulation level between talus and calcaneus of the right foot which presented exostosis on the edges, and on the friction surface of the middle and posterior facets (Fig. 9/5–6). Also, the navicular presents a collar and little exostosis on its articular edge with talus.

It has been mentioned the existence of enthesopathies of the iliac crest, the ischial tuberosity and postero – inferior iliac spin, and the absence of same pathology between the articulations of phalanges from hand and foot.

Summarizing, it can be said that: 1) there is present a vertebral block created by non-marginal syndesmophytes, almost asymmetric arranged; 2) there is an absence of so-called sacroiliitis; 3) there is a presence of enthesopathies in the typical places; 4) a systematic and predominately affection at inferior legs of articulations through synovitis with articular erosion is also present.

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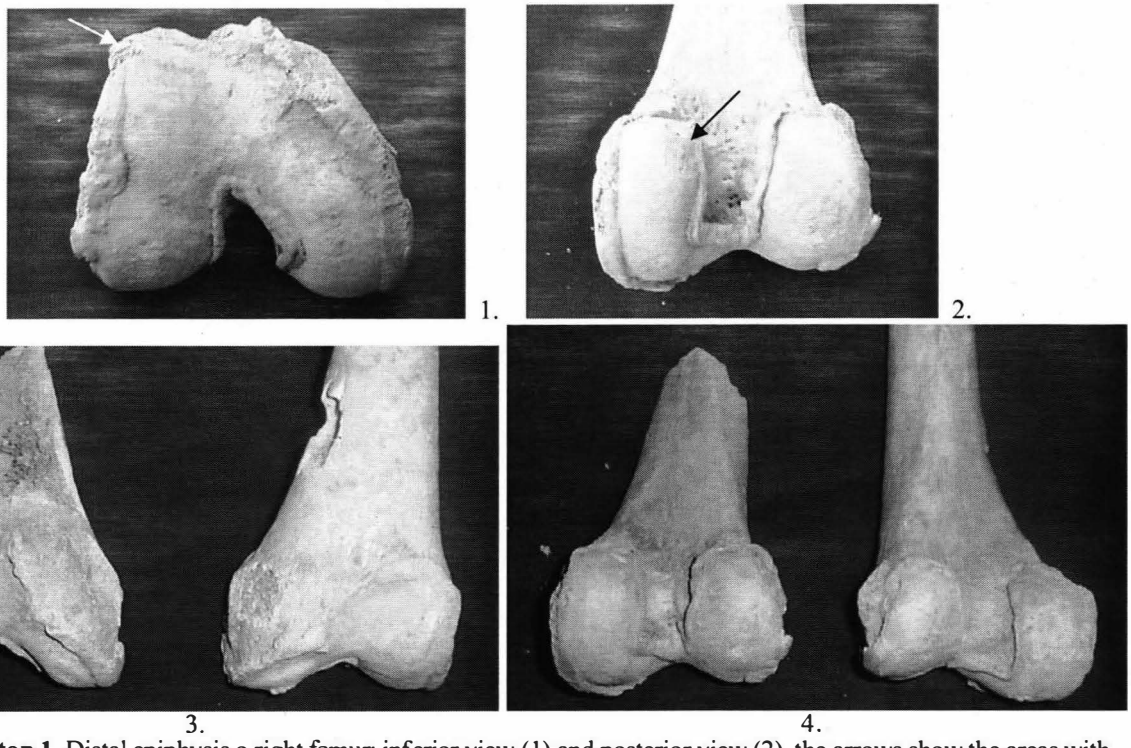
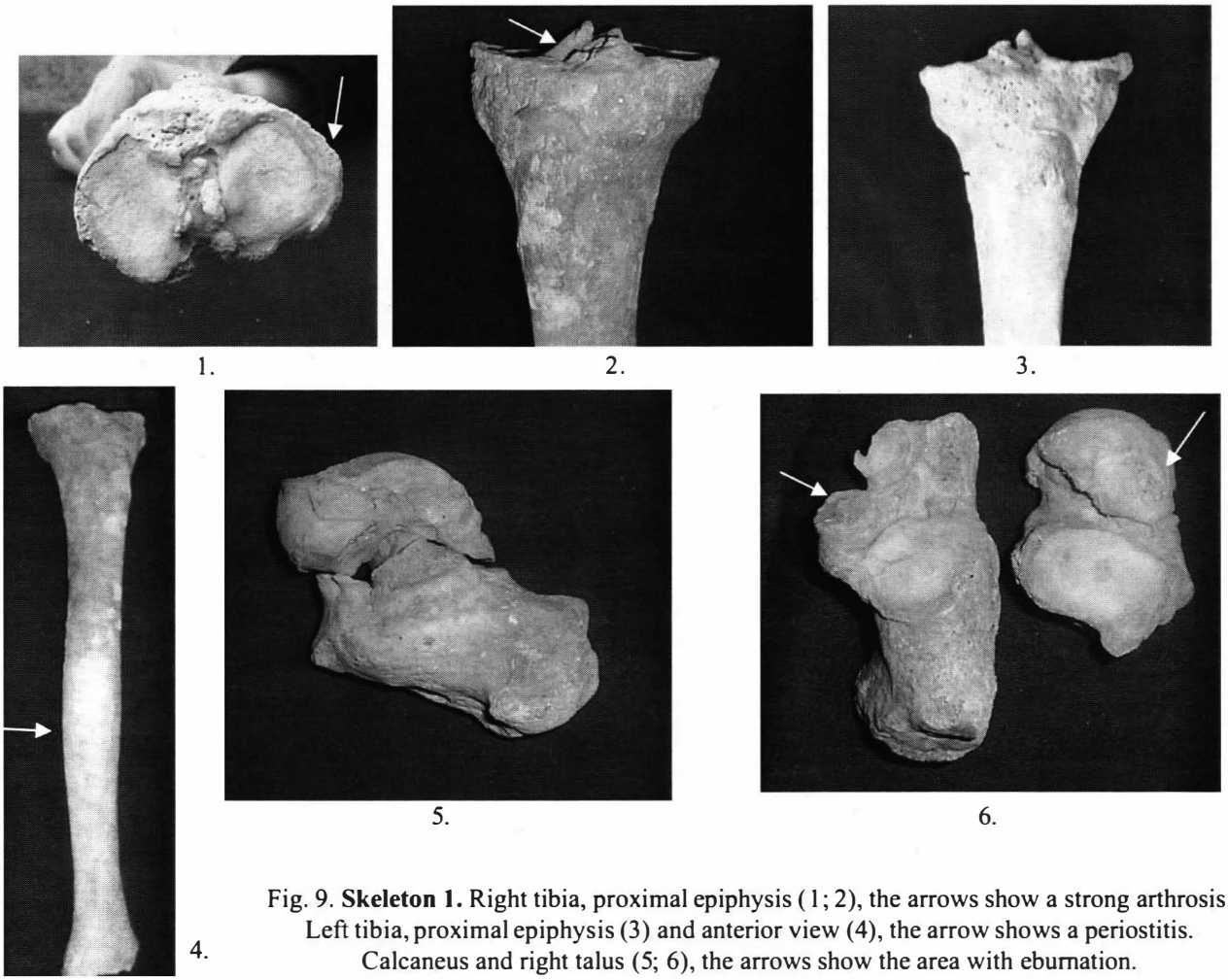


1. 2. 3. 4.

Fig. 8. **Skeleton 1.** Distal epiphysis o right femur: inferior view (1) and posterior view (2), the arrows show the areas with eburnation. Distal epiphysis of femurs, anterior (3) and posterior (4) view. It can see the strong arthrosis transformations.



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

Fig. 9. **Skeleton 1.** Right tibia, proximal epiphysis (1; 2), the arrows show a strong arthrosis. Left tibia, proximal epiphysis (3) and anterior view (4), the arrow shows a periostitis. Calcaneus and right talus (5; 6), the arrows show the area with eburnation.

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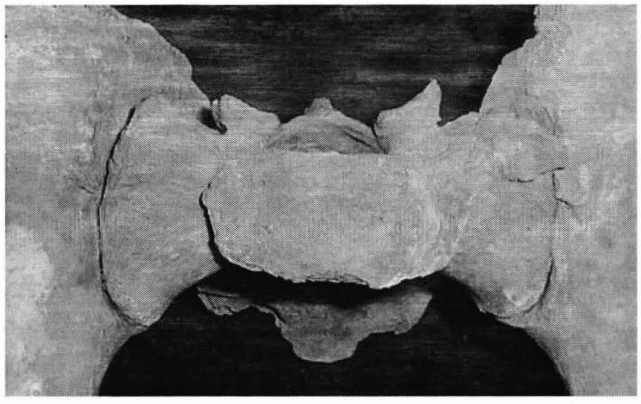

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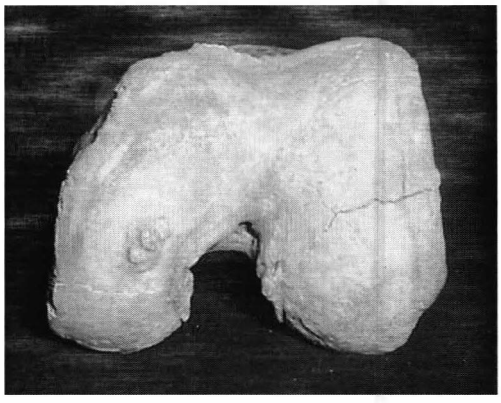

2.

Fig. 10. **Skeleton 1.** Sacroiliac joint (1), the arrow shows an exostosis on the rim of the left coxa which is near with another from sacral wing, which is articulated. Left femur, distal epiphysis (2), the arrow shows a strong intra-articular exostosis.

The lock of sacro – iliac articulations (bilateral and symmetric) affections, and the shoulder and hip affections exclude the ankylosing spondylitis and enteropathic arthritis which manifest in a similar way. Moreover, the missing of blunting and inter – phalanges fusion (with "pencil-and-cups" form) or synovitis presence (asymmetrical) at inferior legs exclude the psoriatic arthritis.

In conclusion it can be said that the subject suffered by reactive arthritis (Reiter syndrome), a disease reaching its late evolutionary stage at the moment of decease (Bruintjes & Panhuysen 1995: 74). The presence of eburnation and the absence of ankylosis at legs articulation show a permanent physical activity of this man.

Another observation may be advanced with regard to the shinbones diaphysis. These bones present a high thickness and have a slight curvature towards to medial (Fig. 9/4). Also, their medial faces have longitudinal striations which prove a strong periosteal reaction. Without sectioning and radiographies the diagnostic is difficult, however. Probably it was a periostitis with an unknown etiology (traumatically, infectious or vascular) (Trancho, Campillo and Sangose 1995: 407-415).

Violent *perimortem* traces

A careful examination of the entire skeletal elements, lead to the conclusion that no traces produced by cutting objects were present. Also, the fractures and other bone destruction possible to be labeled as "far older" prove that in the great majority of occurrences the traumatic fracture of the fresh bone could not be considered as credible.

There are two possible exceptions (scapulas and mandible) which are explained with prudence. The left scapula presents a fracture of acromion with a splinter toward the supraspinous fossa (Fig. 6/2), and the right scapula has a fracture of auxiliary border (Fig. 6/2). Also, the mandible presents the destruction of incisors socket and crowns (Fig. 3/1–2).

The appearance and the patina of these fractures indicate with a high degree of probability that some blows were produced by blunt objects in the posterior region of the shoulders and face while the bone was fresh. The lock of any bone *postfractum* reaction shows that the death of this person happened short time after the hitting occurred.

The cause of death could not be proved, but we also must keep in mind that the skull and the first vertebra were missing.

SKELETON 2

Preservation and integrity condition

Of the skull only the **mandible** was present. The left horizontal ramus was broken probably after death. A missing part of its basal level impedes the gluing the two fragments. A number of 10 teeth are still present.

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Of the shoulder girdle both **clavicles** were entirely present, and although **scapulas** were found in a fragmentary state, the acromions and coracoids were also present.

Regarding the thorax, the **sternum** was represented by its entire body, manubrium was missing, and almost all of the **ribs** were in a fragmentary state (first ribs, many fragments of vertebral and sternal ends).

The **vertebral column** presented 13 vertebrae: atlas (C1), 8 thoracic (T2 and T6 – T12) and 4 lumbar (L1 – L4).

Considering the upper limbs, right **humerus** presented some fractures which occurred during excavation. It has been restored, although there were some missing parts of the humeral head. The left humerus had the distal epiphysis destroyed after death.

Radii presented some newer and older fractures in the region of neck. The right bone was entirely restored. The radial head of the left bone remained separate of diaphysis because of missing fragments.

Ulnas presented recent fractures, but they have been restored to a degree. There were some missing parts: olecranon at the right and some area of diaphysis at the left.

Of the pelvic girdle, **sacrum** was entire. Worth to notice, it had 6 vertebrae. The **os coxae** bones were fragmentary, displaying damages that occured during excavation.

Of the inferior limbs, just the left **tibia** was entirely present, the rest of the bones presenting recent brakes and damages. It has been considered however that some of the damages occurred after death but before excavation. Most of the bones have been restored to a higher or lower degree, excepting the right **fibula** represented only by two separated fragments (superior epiphysis and a part of diaphysis).

Considering the right **femur,** a missing portion of its neck impeded the attachment of the femoral body to the epiphysis. The left's femur portion of the greater and lesser trochanters was missing. Also was missing some area of the anterior crest of the right **tibia**.

Both **patellae** were present in very good state of conservation.

Of the hand and food skeleton it has been identified few **carpals** and **metacarpals**, both pairs of **tali** and **calcanea**, left **navicular**, and some **metatarsals** and **phalanges**.

Determination of sex

Visual and dimensional characters undoubtedly indicate a masculine sex. The innominate presents high and narrow wings, the iliac crest has an "S" shape, and a developed muscular relief. The greater sciatic notch is narrow and deep; the preauricular sulcus is missing; the subpubian angle is acute (Ferembach, Schwidetzky and Stloukal 1979: 9-11). Through massiveness and robustness the entire skeleton indicate same diagnosis.

Estimation of age

Using the same method for age determination (Nemeskéri, Harsány and Acsádi 1960: 70-95) as for skeleton 1, the pubic symphysis characteristics are consistent with 3rd phase of evolotion, and the sagital sections of proximal epiphysis of humerus and femur are consistent with the 2nd phase of evolution (Fig. 11/1–3).

Considering these indicators according to Sjovold's tables (1975: 9-22) the age has been estimated to be in the neighborhood of 49.00 years old, leaving a margin of error of ± 3 years valid in 80–85 % of cases. According to the analysis of some other elements, it can be estimated that the real age is 30–40 years. For example: there is a rapid evolution of pubic symphysis (Acsadi & Nemeskeri 1970: 134), a lock of osteoarthrosis at the long bones articulations, a lock of syonstosis between 1st and 2nd sacral vertebra (Fig. 15/1), and the presence of enamel wear for 2nd and 3rd mandible molars (Fig. 11/4).

Anthropological features

Mandible is very robust, the mandibular symphysis is prominent and has the gonions modeled and superficially turned up (see Table 1). The state of preservation does not permit the dimensional evaluation of

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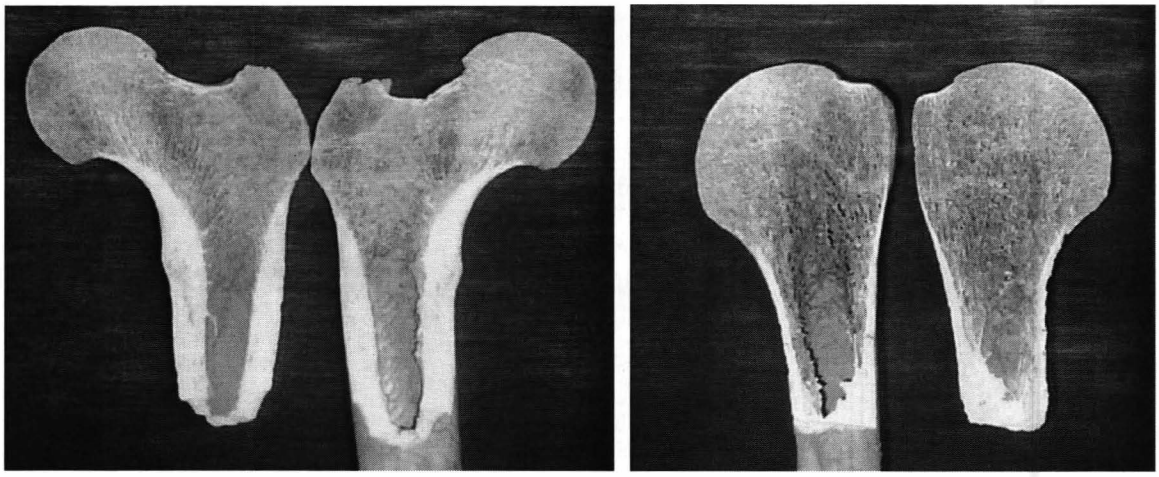
the breadth. According to Alexeev & Debetz (1964: 112-127) the symphysis has a very large coefficient for height, and the ascending ramus is tall. On the other hand, the height of the mandibular body (at the nutritive foramen) is "very large" although its thickness is constant only with the "large" category conferring it an index associated rather with "small" category.



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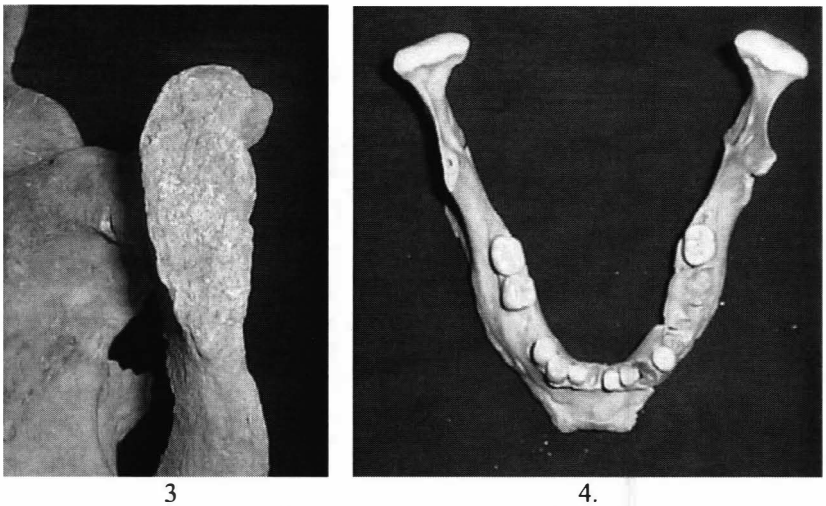

3 4.

Fig. 11. **Skeleton 2.** Elements for ageing: sagittal section of the left femur, II phase (1); sagittal sections of the left humerus epiphyses, II phase (2); pubic symphysis, III phase (3); mandible with a little attrition.

Postcranial skeleton is very robust, with developed musculature, eutrophic. The right femur has a strong pilastric index; the left one only a medium index. In the subtrochanterian region both are flattened, platimer. Tibias are mesocnem, more accentuated on the left. The sacrum is medium wide.

The stature, determined according to classical methods, shows values between 170 and 176 cm, which is integrated in the "large" statures in the Martin classifications scale (see Table 2).

Biological and pathological consideration

The **mandible** presents 10 teeth and some free sockets, a condition which permits the establishment of the dental pathology. The first right molar was lost *intravitam* and the socket reabsorbed. The 2nd and 3rd right molars present incipient caries (with large area) localized on the mesial side of the crown. On the left ramus the 2nd premolar had an occlusal caries that destroyed the entire crown; the molar presents a deep mesial caries. In the region of 1st and 2nd molars it is possible presume that these teeth have radicular abscesses (Fig. 12/1--4).

Regarding the **postcranial skeleton** for this case also, the vertebral column represents the most interesting pathology.

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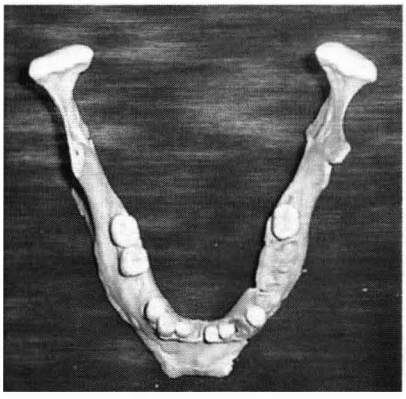

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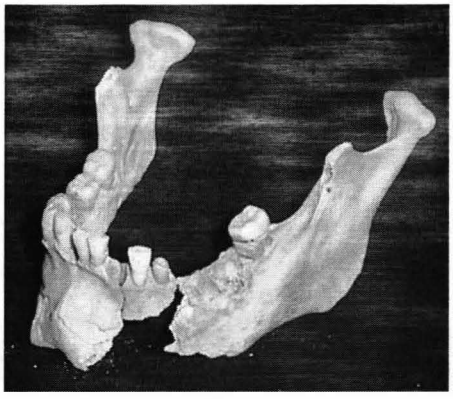

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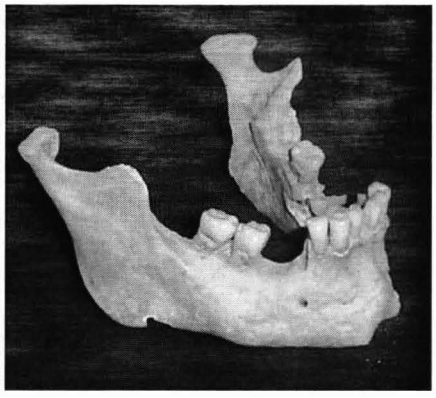

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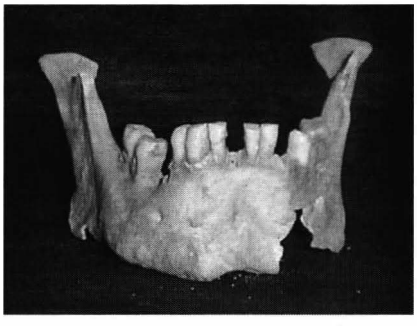

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Fig. 12. **Skeleton 2.** Mandible, different views (1; 2; 3; 4).

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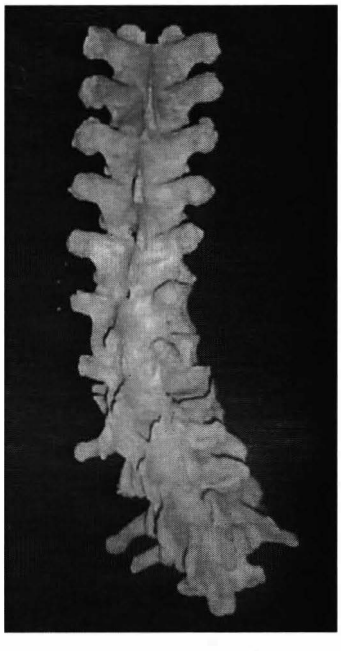

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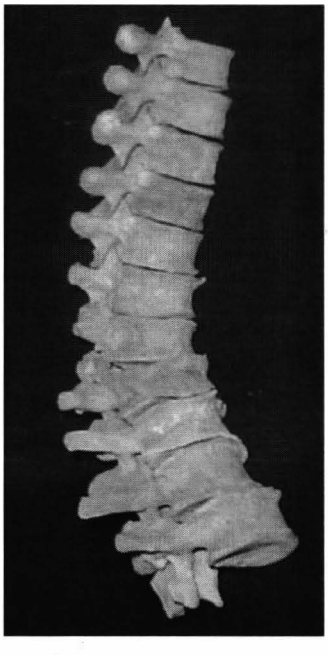

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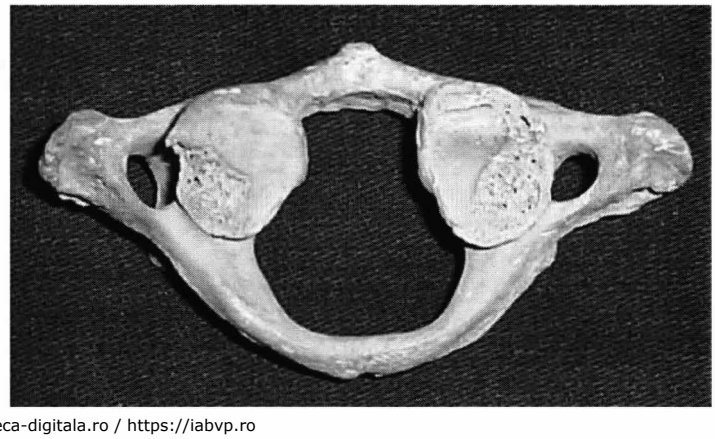

Fig. 13. **Skeleton 2.** Vertebral column, thoracic segment (T 6 – T 12) and lumbar segment (L 1 – L 4), right lateral view (1 and 3), posterior view (2). First cervical vertebra (atlas), inferior view with anterior arch there is on above area of image (4). It could observe the cutting of inferior articular facets.

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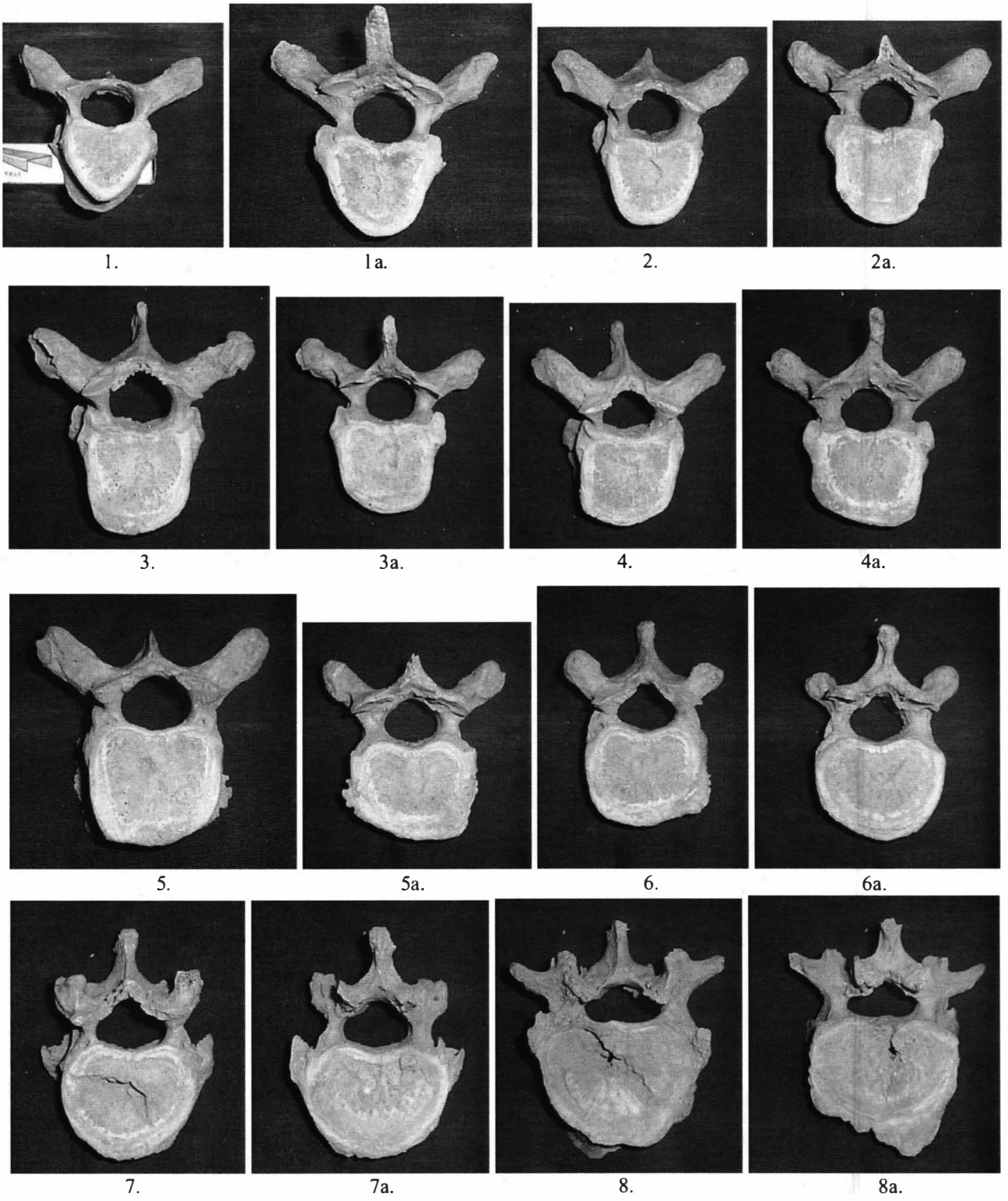
The first lumbar vertebra (L1) presents an uncommon appearance. Its superior side is collapsed, presenting a sort of oblique ruptures from right to left, with subsides healed through resorption and irregular bony appositions. The inferior side has same tearing toward to central part, but the surface is flat, the vertebra modifying its anterior body height through the collapse of its superior side. Both superior and inferior vertebral edges present exostosis and osteophytis developments. The articular processes present exostosis modifications (Fig. 14/8, 8a, 8b, 8c). Because it was not possible to observe abscesses or other infectious marks, it was believed that the modifications represented a healed old traumatism.



1. 1a. 2. 2a.

3. 3a. 4. 4a.

5. 5a. 6. 6a.

7. 7a. 8. 8a.

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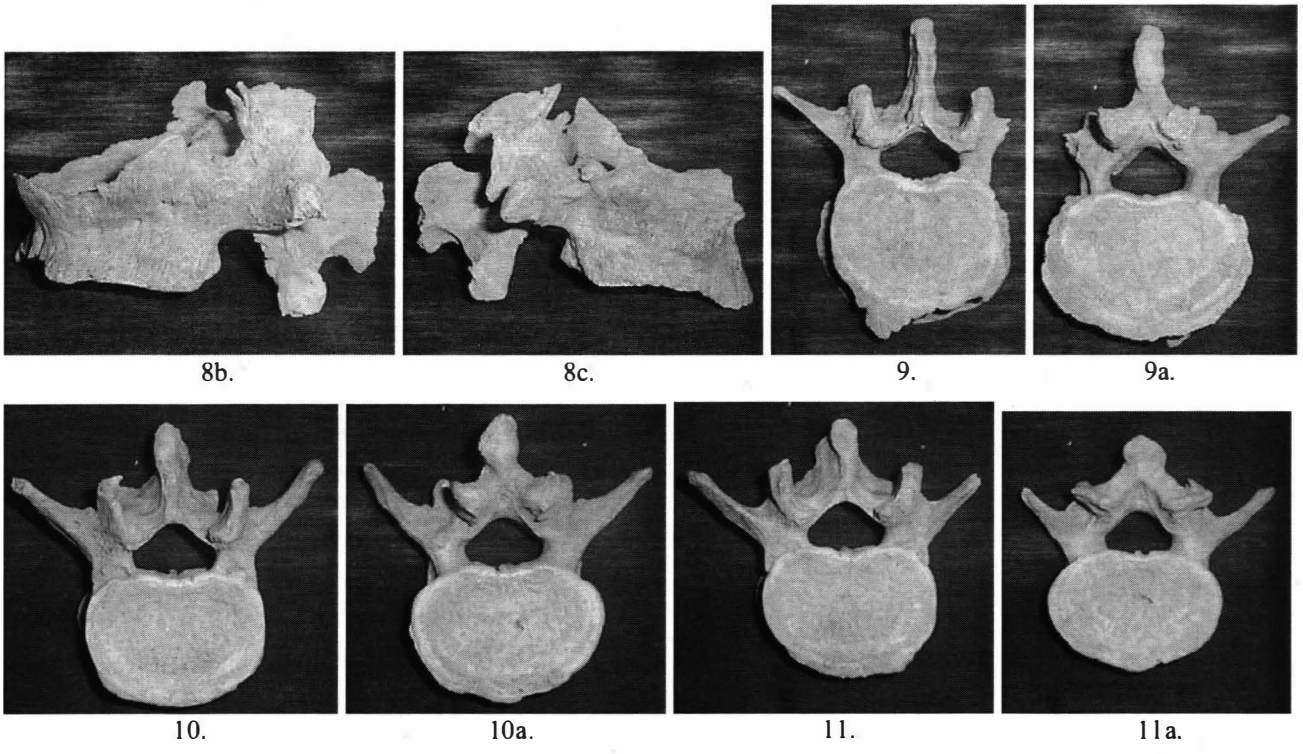

Fig. 14. **Skeleton 2.** Thoracic vertebrae T 6 – T 9, superior (1-4) and inferior (1a-4a) view. Thoracic vertebrae T 10 – T 11 and lumbar vertebra L 1, superior (5-8) and inferior (5a-8a) view. Lumbar vertebra L 1, right – left lateral view (8b and 8c). Lumbar vertebrae L 2 – L 4, superior (9-10) and inferior (9a-11a) view. For explanations see the text.

The sequels are important because vertebral column presents a posterior cyphosis (between the thoracic and vertebral vertebras) which in life modified the entire general posture of this person (Fig. 13/1–3).

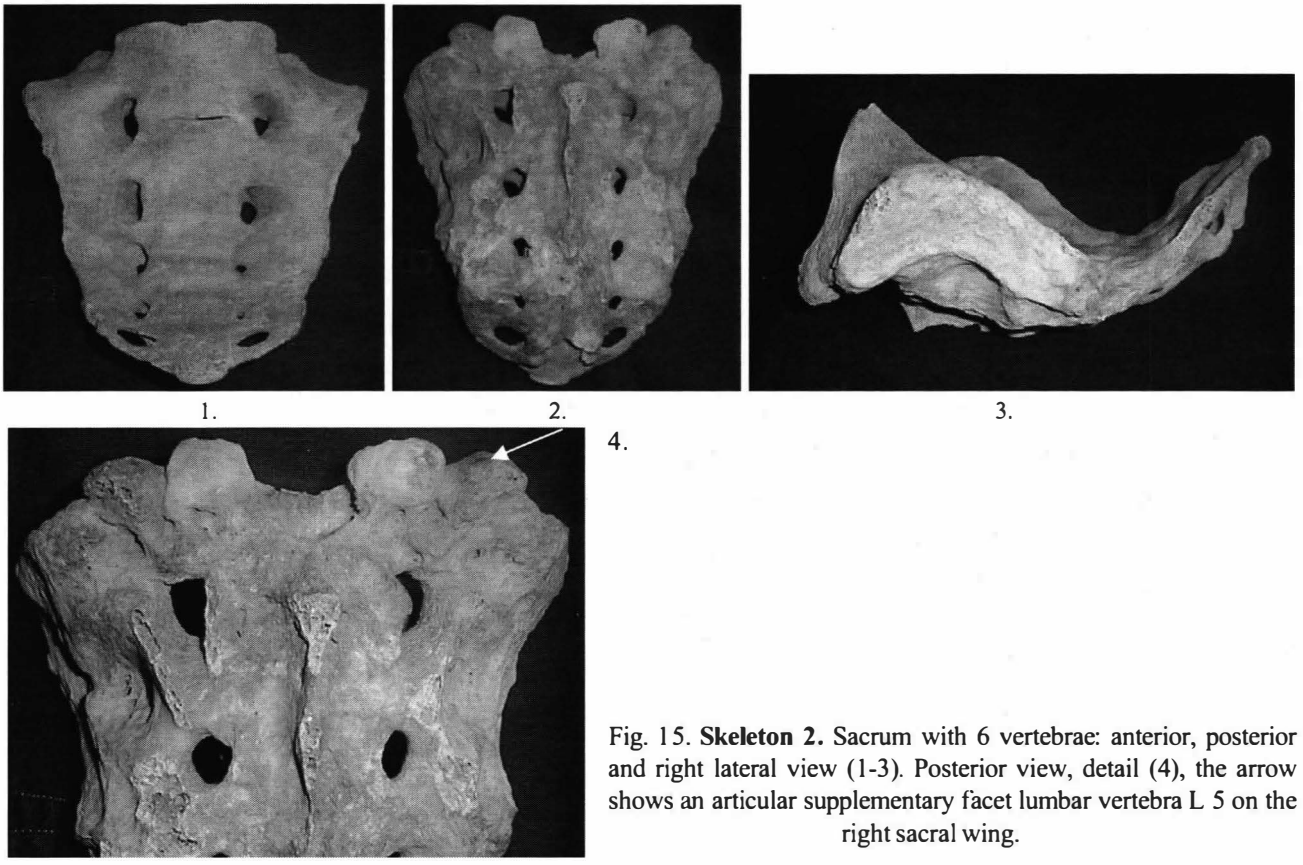

Fig. 15. **Skeleton 2.** Sacrum with 6 vertebrae: anterior, posterior and right lateral view (1-3). Posterior view, detail (4), the arrow shows an articular supplementary facet lumbar vertebra L 5 on the right sacral wing.

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The other vertebras have different modifications: thoracic vertebra T6 is normal and unaffected; T7 has a Schmorl nodule on the superior side; T8 and T9 have nodules on the superior and inferior sides; the body of T9 has a slight asymmetry, a prominent superior edge (non-exostosis), and an inferior edge prominently outward, with osteophytis toward its left side.

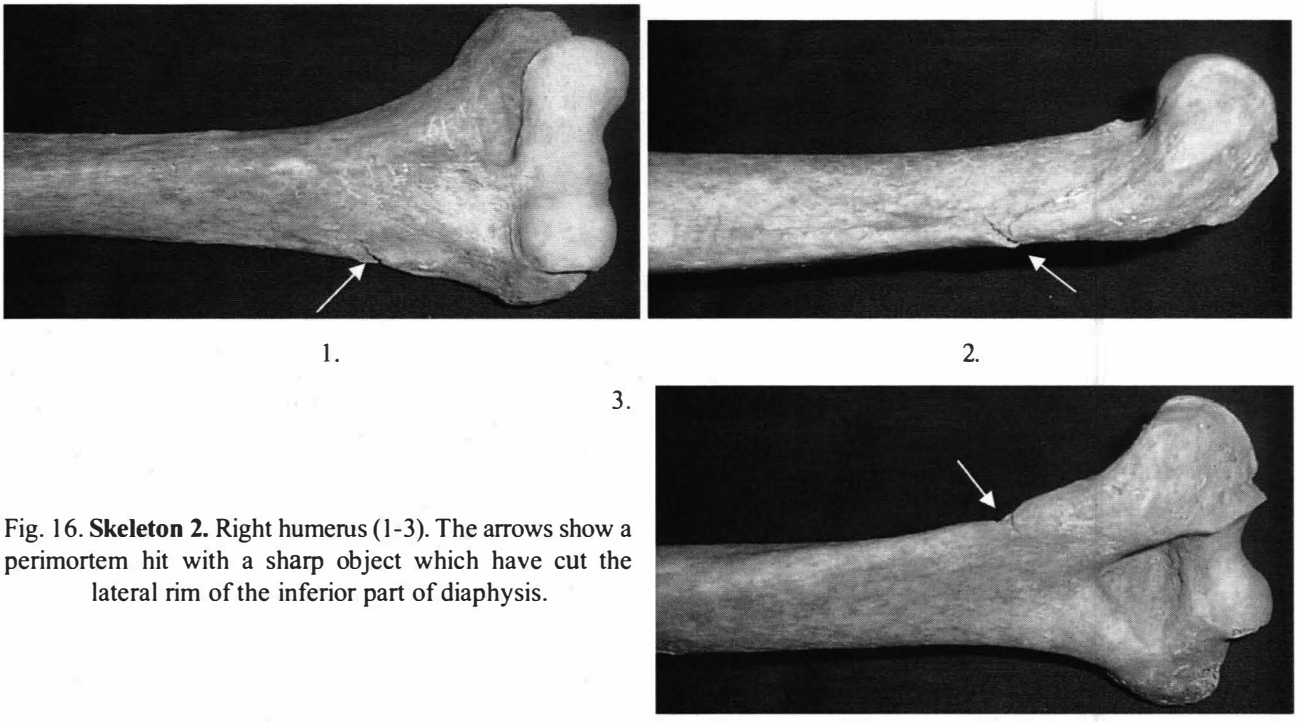
Articular sides of T11 are not affected in any way, but the superior edge of the vertebral body presents osteophytes toward its left side (corresponding to the ones developed on the anterior vertebra).

T12 presents a light asymmetrically body: the superior side shows a slight collapse toward the right, the inferior side appearing to be flat with a rugged look. The superior edge is marked slightly; the inferior one presents continuous exostotic ondulations corresponding to the same development of showing lumbar vertebra L1 described above.

Considering the other lumbar vertebrae, it can be observed that the normal superior and inferior sides, and the prominent bodies are normal. Lumbar vertebra L2 has a continuous osteophyte development on its superior and inferior side.

Violent *perimortem* traces

Nearby the distal epiphysis, on the lateral supracondylar crest of the right humerus, it has been observed a trace caused by a sharp object which produced an oblique cut from proximal to distal diaphysis. The split was not deep however, presenting little splinters with an appearance of broken fresh bone (Fig. 16/2–4).



1. 2. 3.

Fig. 16. **Skeleton 2.** Right humerus (1-3). The arrows show a perimortem hit with a sharp object which have cut the lateral rim of the inferior part of diaphysis.

Also, the diaphysis of the left fibula presents on its distal third a complete fracture of an irregular shape, without splits, caused by a lateral hit by a blunt object (Fig. 17/2 – 4).

Very important is the fracture of the mandibular body on the left side. It was broken in many fragments (unfortunately not present) due to a strong blow (Fig. 12/2 and 4). Likely, the maxilla suffered the same kind of violent treatment.

According to the fact that no healing signs of these three traumas were detectable, it was possible to conclude that the subject died at short time after receiving this violent treatment.

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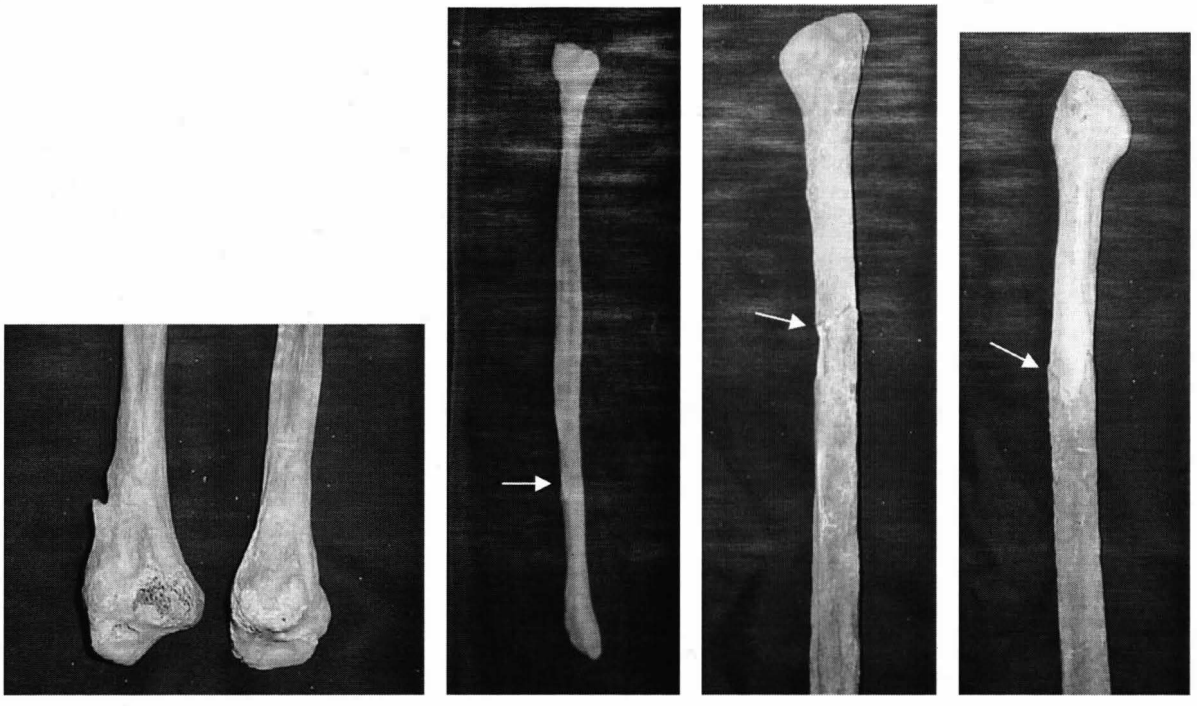

1. 2. 3. 4.

Fig. 17. **Skeleton 2.** Proximal epiphysis of fibulas (1), at right it could see an exostosis. Left fibula with a perimortem fracture, general view (2) and details (3; 4).

Cause of death

Exceptionally, the atlas proves the decapitation of subject. The vertebra is well preserved presenting the inferior articular facets severed from posterior to anterior by a blow produced by a very sharp object (Fig. 13/4).

The object's blade, probably a sword, penetrated between the posterior arches of atlas and axis, without touching them, sectioning just the lateral edges of the facets (which are inclined oblique and lower from medial to lateral) nearby the anterior their end, where it could be observed small tearing lines.

The hit probably cut off the axis dens (which is missing). The death occurred rapidly due to sectioning of the cervical marrow.

BURIAL 2

Condition of preservation and integrity

Of the neurocranium is present only the **calotte** with important missing areas (region of glabela, the left area of frontal and parietal with the left temporal, inferior area of occipital, and base of skull) due to the modern destructions.

Of the **face** is present the left zygomatic (uncomplete).

The **mandible** present old destructions. It is missing both mandibular condyle and left coronoid process. It is present 4 teeth.

Of the shoulder girdle are present, partial restored, both **scapulas** and right **clavicle**. Of the thorax we identified the **sternum** with the manubrium ununited with the sternal body and fragments of ribs.

Of the **vertebral column** are present all the cervical vertebras, 4 entire thoracal vertebras (T I, T 10 – T 12) and fragments from others, and the lumbar vertebras L I – L 4.

Of the superior legs, the right **humerus** have missing the inferior third (old destruction) and the left was restored. Also are present the left **radius** and **ulna** (Fig. 18).

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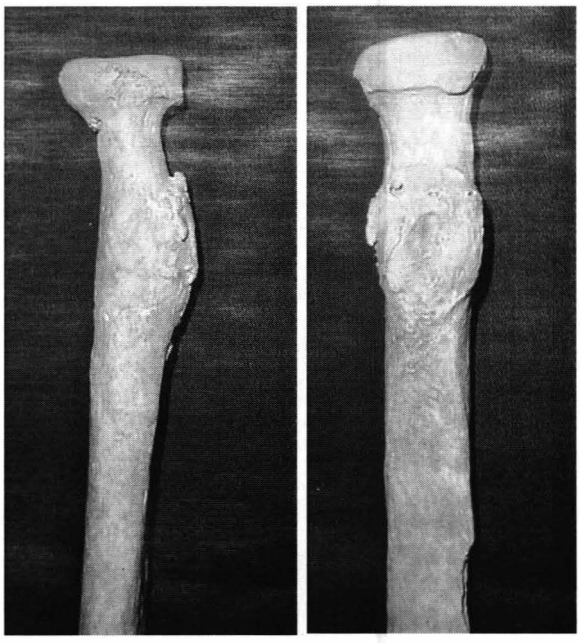

1. 2.

Fig. 18. **Skeleton 2.** Right radius. Radial tuberosity with arthrosis aspect.

Of the pelvic girdle are present the **sacrum** and a pubian ram fragment with half of pubic symphysis.

On the inferior legs is preserved only the right **femur** and **tibia**, complete, and a distal fragment from **fibula.**

From hand and foot skeleton were present some **metacarpals**, left **talus**, and disparate fragments from **calcaneum**, some **metatarsals** and **phalanges**.

Determination of sex

Due to the missing of the os coxae and a large area of cranium, for sex diagnosis was used discriminant function for humerus and femur (Černy & Komenda 1976: 67-70), for femur (Pettener & Brasili Gualandi 1979: 59-68), and for tibia (Pettener, Brasili Gualandi & Cavicchi 1980: 363-372).

The obtained numbers show the gracility of this skeleton who belong to a woman. This diagnosis is confirmed by the present sexual features of skull: little and gracil mastoid processus, wiped superciliary and occipital arches.

Estimation of age

Using the complex method for age determination (Nemeskéri *et alii* 1960, p. 70-95) the sagital sections of proximal epiphysis of humerus and femur are consistent with 4^{th} and 3^{rd} phase of evolution (Fig. 19/1–2), the pubic symphysis characteristics are consistent with 3^{rd} phase of evolution, and cranial sutures do not present any synostose point both exocranian and endocranian surface in the phase I. Considering these indicators according to Sjøvold's tables (1975: 9-22) the age has been estimated on 48,25 ± 2,5 years old confirmed by the medium wear of the mandibular teeth (Fig. 19/3).

Pathology

Excepting the intravitam loss of molar 2 left from mandible, do not exist other elements. The vertebral column has not spondyloarthrosis.

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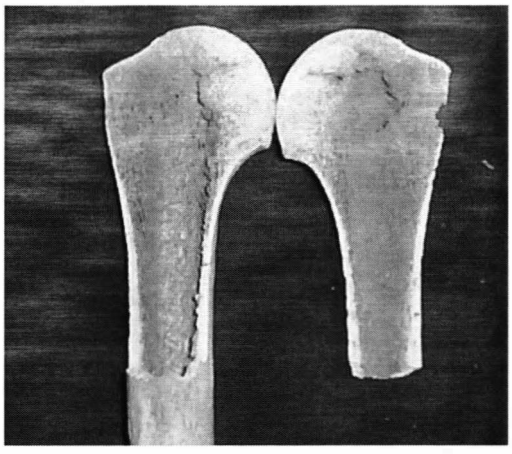

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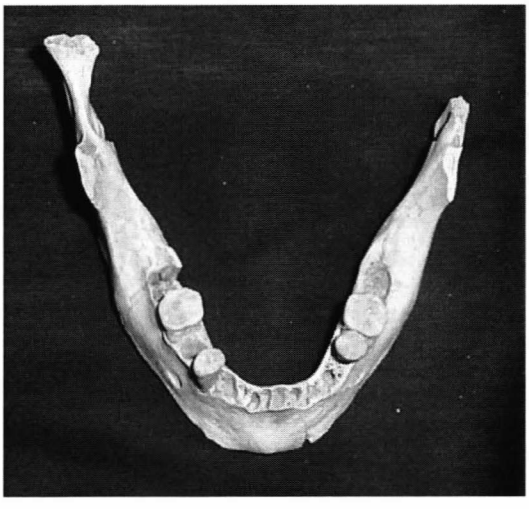

Fig. 19. **Burial 2.** Elements for ageing: Sagittal sections on: sagittal section of the right femur, III phase (1) and humerus, IV phase (2); mandible with medium dental attrition.

Anthropological features

In the superior view the **calotte** (Fig. 20/1–3) is ovoid and dolicocran; in the lateral view present an obelic aplatisation and the occipital is convex. The only metrics are the parietal chord and arch (b – I, with 115 mm and 125 mm), who realize an index of 92.00.

The **mandible** is gracile with wiped muscular insertions and the symphysis just a bit proeminent (Fig. 20 / 4–6). According to Alexeev & Debeț (1964: 112-127) (see the metrics in Table 1), bigonial breadth is "medium", mandibular angle is "medium", and the mandibular index is "small".

The **long bones** of the postcranian skeleton are gracile with wiped muscular insertions. The femur has a developed pilaster (index 111.53), and in the subtrochanterian region the bone is flattened. Tibia has at the middle of diaphysis a triangle section and on the level of the nutrient foramen is euricnem.

The **sacrum** has a platyhierich index (large).

Stature has been calculated according to length of the leg bones using classical methods. Methods of Bach (1965: 12-25) and Trotter & Glseser (1952: 463-514) lead to an estimation of 157–159 cm (see Tab. 2), consistent with the „supermedium" to „large" category postulated by Martin.

OTHER BONES DISCOVERED IN THE "CHAMBER 2"

1. Right radius (length of 68 mm) and ulna (length of 81 mm) belong to a **child** about a few months old (Fig. 21/1).

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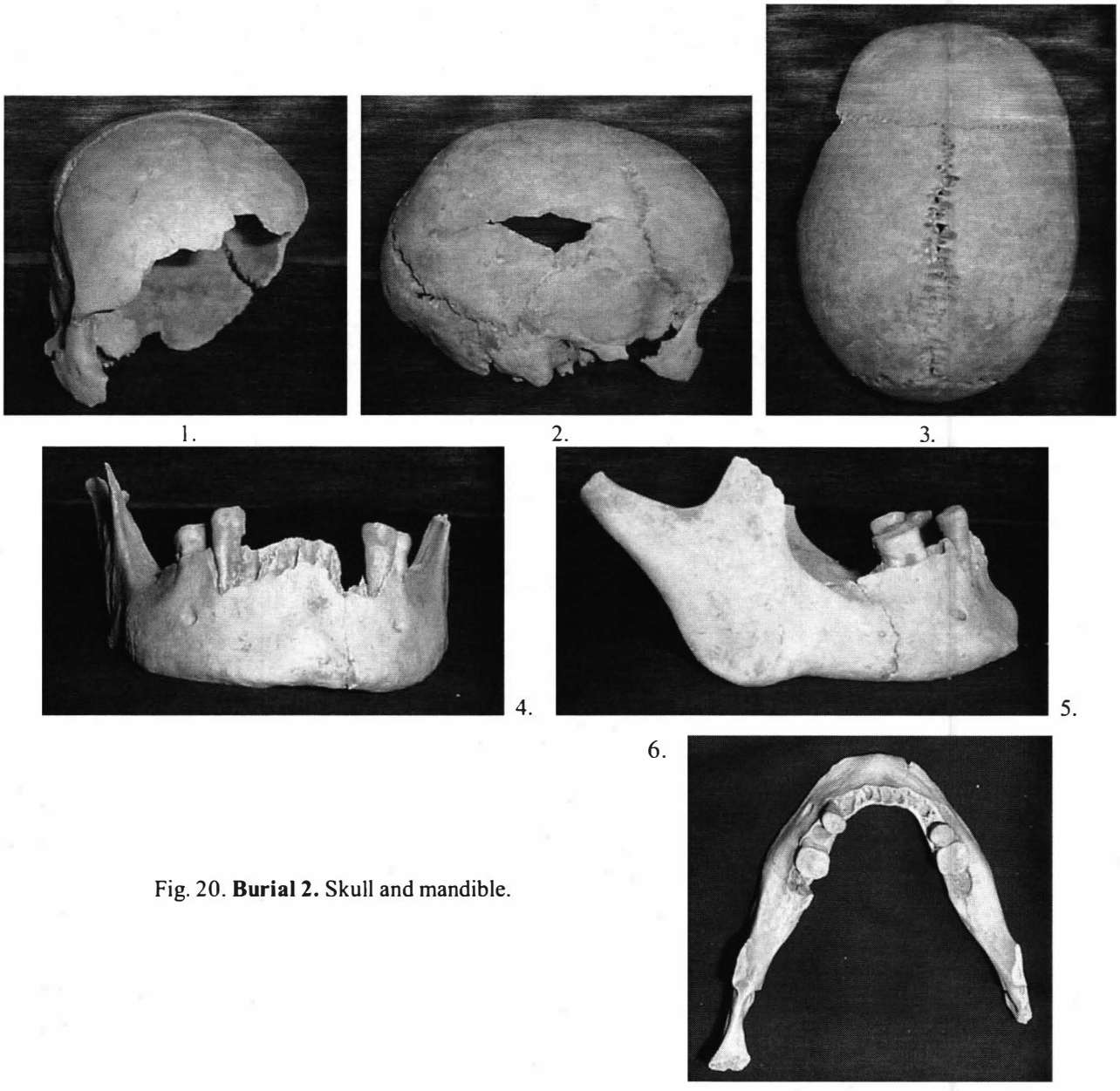

Fig. 20. **Burial 2.** Skull and mandible.

2. Left radius and ulna, both presenting the third proximal missing. The epiphysis are not fused (Fig. 21 / 2). At the middle of diaphysis the radius has the transversal diameter with 13.5 mm, the sagital diameter with 10.5 mm, and the perimeter with 37 mm. The ulna has the dorso – ventral diameter with 12 mm and the transversal with 15 mm. The bones belong to a **child** (infans II).
3. Left parietal (uncomplete) of a **child** about 2–3 years old. In the posterior area toward to lambdoid suture present hyperostosa porotica (Fig. 21/3–4).
4. A piece from the left side of an **adult** skull (frontal, parietal, temporal and a little fragment of occipital) (Fig. 21/5–6). The supraciliars arches are wiped, supraorbital margins is sharp, and mastoid processus are small and gracile. All this indicate a female.
5. Disparate fragments of a **adult – mature** skull. Probable these belong to the same individual (Fig. 22/1):
   a) Fragments from the left side of frontal articulated with great wing of the sphenoid and a fragment of temporal with zygomatic apophysis and zygomatic;
   b) Portions from central and right area of the frontal with nasals and superior area of frontal apophysis of maxilla, portions from zygomatics;
   c) Fragments from left maxilla and the edge of nasal aperture, two fragments from right maxilla, and 3 teeth.
   d) Some cranial fragments with small dimensions. Determination of sex: female.

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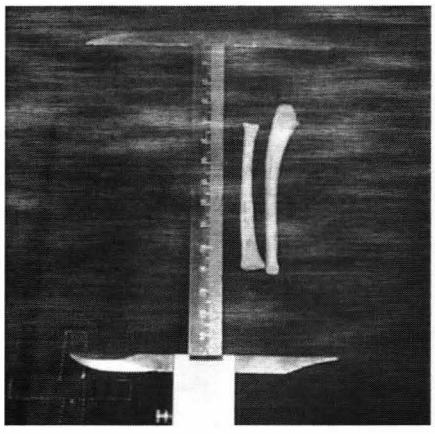

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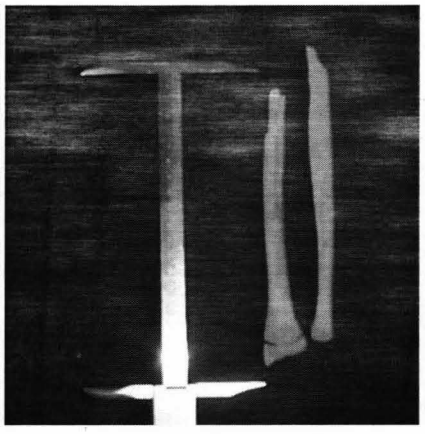

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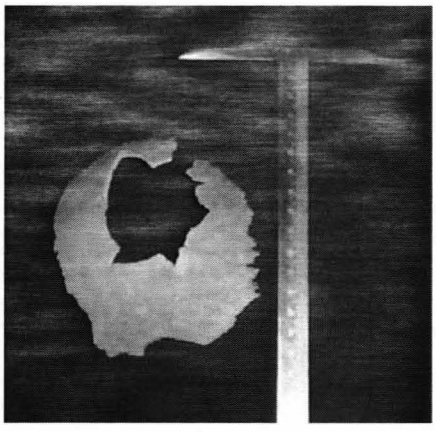

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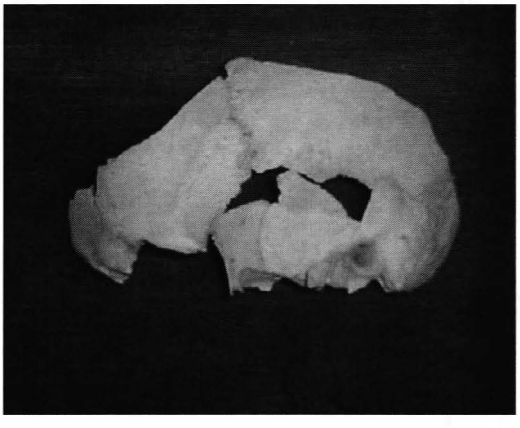

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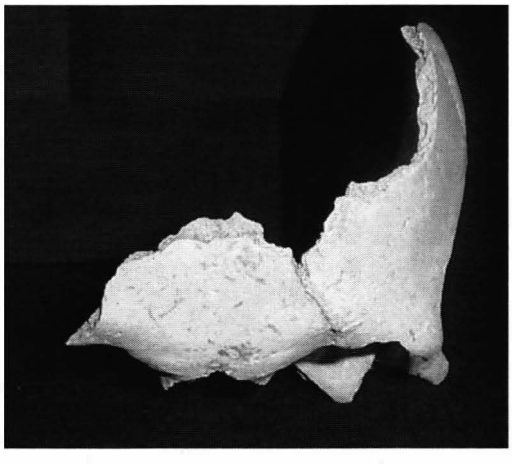

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Fig. 21. Other human remains: 1. right humerus and uln of a new born; left radius and ulna, child (infans II). 3-4. left parietal, child (2-3 years old); 5-6. skull remain, adult, probably woman.

6. Disparate cranial fragments belonging to minimum **3 adult – mature individuals** (Fig. 22/2):
   a) Left mastoid and a portion of from posterio – inferior angle of parietal (male ?);
   b) Right mastoid and inferior area of occipital squama.
   c) A portion of basesphenoid and a petrous pyramid.
   d) A fragment of parietal and a fragment of occipital squama.
7. Two lumbar vertebrals bodies of an **adult – mature** (Fig. 22/4).
8. The diaphysis of long bones from minimum **3 adult – mature individuals** (Fig. 22/5) and other bone:
   a) Right femur, fragmentary diaphysis restored with some missing parts and it has developed pilaster and platimer
   b) Right fragmentary femur, gracil, with medium pilaster and platimer.

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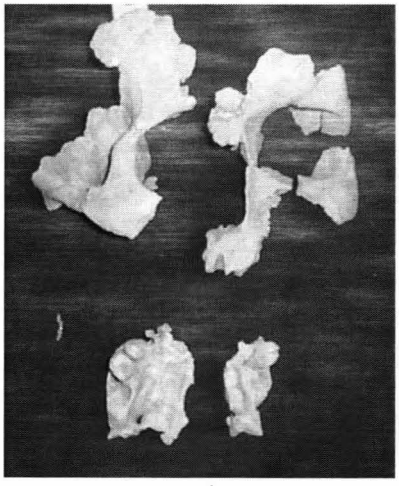
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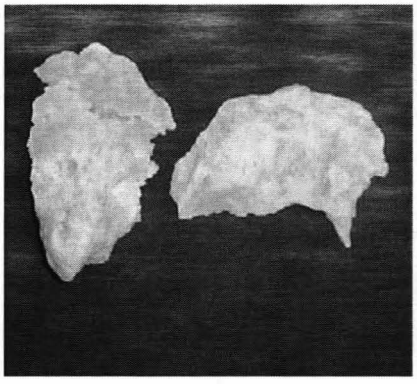
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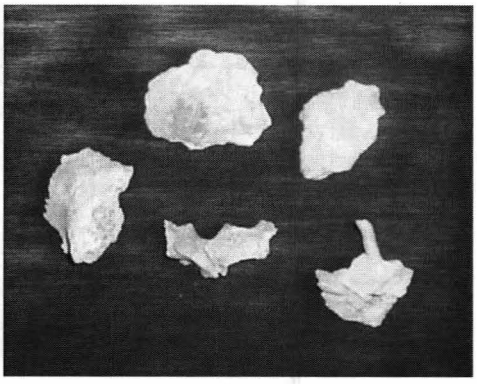
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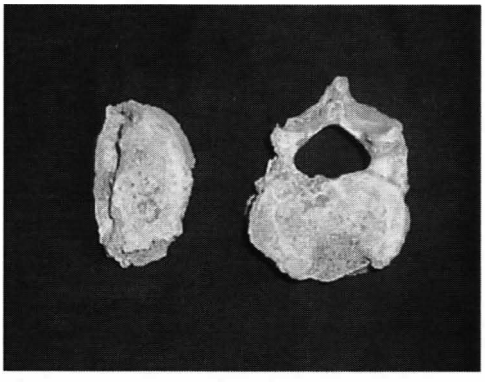
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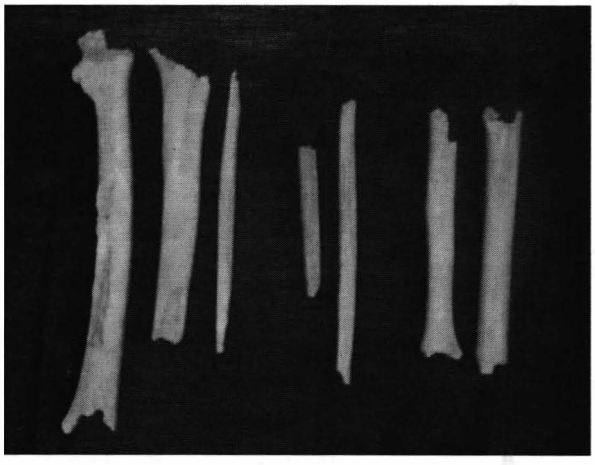
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Fig. 22. Other human remains: 1. skull and facial fragments, adult-mature, woman (?); 2-3. sull fragments, adults-matures (probably 3 individuals); 4. two lumbar vertebrae bodies, adult-mature; 5. long bone: femurs, tibias, fibulas, humerus fragments from an adult-mature.

Metrics and indices	a)	b)
6.	30,5	26
7.	27	24
9.	29,5	31
10.	25	24
6:7.	112,96	108,33
10:9.	84,74	77,41

c) Fragment of **tibia** diaphysis with sagital diameter of 30 mm and transversal diameter of 25 mm at the middle of diaphysis; sagital diameter of 32 mm and transversal diameter of 22 mm at the level of nutrient foramen. Section index is 83.33 and the cnemic index 68.75.
d) Three fragments of fibulas diaphyses from 3 individuals.
e) A fragment of humerus diaphysis.
f) A small fragment of scapula.
g) Fragmentary left talus and some phalanges.
h) Numerous fragments of ribs.

9. A group of bones with clean and white patina: 4 metacarpals, 4 phalanges (Fig. 23/1), and some ribs (Fig. 23/3). One of the phalanges present a fractured unhealed (Fig. 23/2a – b).
10. Animal bones: metapodes and skulls fragments of *bos taurus* and sheep/goat, a fragment of a pig mandible, 2 fragments of birds (Fig. 24).

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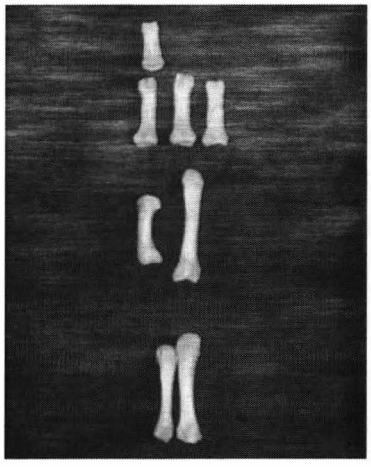

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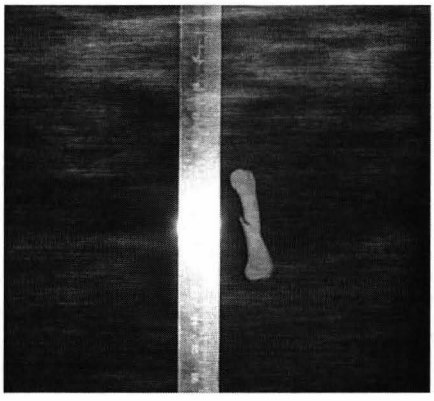

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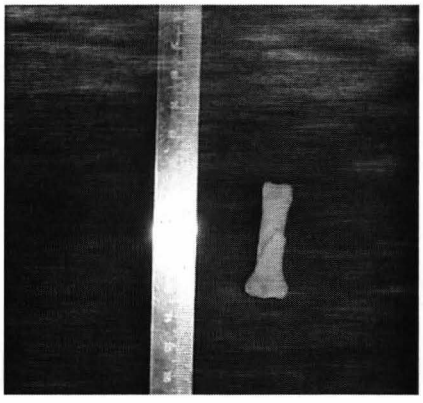

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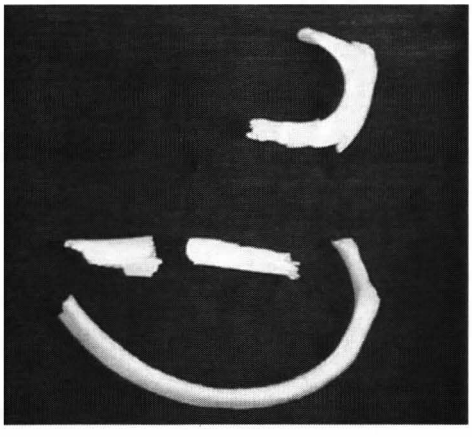

3.

Fig. 23. Other human remains: 1. metacarpals and phalanges, adult; 2a-2b. phalanx 1 with vert fracture; 3. ribs with a same patina as bone noted 1-2a.

Fig. 24. Animals' bones.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The first important establishment of this analysis is that in the funeral chamber of the monument were the human remains of two individuals.

Using paleoanthropological methods it was possible to determine the sex, age, anthropological features, biopathological history, and cause and condition of death.

As a conclusion two males were identified: first was in the 6th decade of life and the second in the 3rd. Both had a strong constitution and their statures were included in the medium – high category for the first, and high for the second.

The absence of the skulls does not permit a characterization of the anthropological type, but it was possible to observe that the features and traits of the skeleton 2 mandible, and its large stature, indicate the Dinaric – Armenoid type. This type is characteristic to the mountain regions of the north India, Anatolia and Dinaric Alps.

From biopathologic point of view at least last two decades of the first individual life have been dominated by a seronegative spondyloarthropaty which affectd the vertebral column and other articulations of legs. Also, the second individual might have been suffering, at the age limit between teenager and adult, of a first lumbar vertebra trauma. Probably healed after a long sufferince, the accident resulted in a dorso – lumbar cyphosis.

The last days of these men life were undoubt tragic. The violence (perimortem) traces present on bones (mandible and scapulas at first; mandible, humerus and fibula at second) and the absence of healing procesess (*postfractum* bony reaction) proved that they died immediately after the traumas occured.

The cause of death (from forensic point of view) could be established only for the second skeleton, of whom first cervical vertebra (the atlas) state proved (extremly rare case in paleoantropology) decapitation. We presume the same death for the skeleton 1, due to the absence of the first cervical vertebras.

Confrontation of the anthropological results with historical sources represents a rare ocasion in paleoantropology. Making this precise, the historical sources use as refference is given by a martyric act preserved in a copy dated in XV century in the archives of the Saviour Church from Utrecht. This was published in 1615 by the erudite Jesuit, Herbert Rosweyde, the initiator of the great hagiographical colection *Acta Sanctorum.*

The most important section of this document is chapter III where there are describe the last 35 days of martyrs life (from arrestment to execution). Below we present a table with the historical date and the results of anthropological analysis.

Latin	English	Anthropological analysis
Caput III. 20. *Erat siquidem sanctus Epictetus annorum fere sexaginta, statura procerus, barba prolixa, et splendore canitiei decoratus. Similiter et beatissimus Astion monachus, statura et ipse procerus existebat: sed et nimium pulcher ac delicatus, et quasi triginta quinque annos aetatis agens.*	Saint Epictet, almost 60 years old, had high stature, with plentiful beard and admirably in his greyish splendour. The same allhappy monk Astion had high stature but he was very beautiful and delicate, having almost 35 years.	For the **skeleton 1** we can estimate a chronological age of death about 64.67 years, with an error of ± 3 years and with a confidence about 80 – 85 %. The analysis of all elements, for the **skeleton 2** indicate a real age of 30–40 years, rather to the beginning of this one.
Caput III. 27. *Hoc audiens vesanus ille, et horrendus, nimium efferatus est: et jussit ministris suis, ut cum lapidibus ora Sanctorum contunderent. Deinde imperavit, ut virgas afferrent fraxineas, et sic ex eis tam diu eos verberarent, quamdiu spiritum exhalarent.*	This crazy with beast soul, hearing those, ordered to his servants to crash with stone the faces of martyrs. Afterthat, he ask to bring ashtree rods and to be heat them until they will breathe one's last.	At the **skeleton 2** very important is the fracture of mandibular body on the left side. This was broken due to the strong hit in many splits. For the **skeleton 1** the left scapula present a fracture of acromion with a splinter toward to supraspinous fossa, and the right has a fracture of axillary border. Also, the mandible presents destroying of socket (and the crowns) of incisors.

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Caput III. 31. *Et haec dicens, statim a spiculatore caput ejus amputator. Hoc cum factum fuisset, cernens sanctus Epictetus, dedit gloriam Deo. Et projiciens se super corpusculum ejus, rogare coepit a carnificibus, ut quomodo jaceret super cadaver sancti Martyris, sic et ipsum percuterent.*	Saying those, immediately the head was cut by hangman. After it is make this, Saint Epictet, looking, gave slave to God and throwing to the body of Astion, he started to ask the hangmen, so he staying above the corpse of saint Martyr, so they killed him.	The atlas of **skeleton 2** is well preserved and present the inferior articular facets cutted toward posterior to anterior by a hit produced with a very sharp object. The object's blade, probably sword, get into between the posterior arches of atlas and axis, without touching, sectioning just the lateral edges of facets (which are inclined oblique to down from medial to lateral) near by the anterior their end, where can observe little tear lines.

Finally it must to explain the missing of skulls among the bones. So chapter IV relating the burial of martyrs bodies by Vigilantus in a secret place outside of walled city (paragraph 32, 43 and 44). Late after the legislate of Christianism, the bone were exhume and buried with honors in the crypt builded intramuros. Probably with this occasion the skulls were keep by christians, may be for adoration or repatriation.

A second problem is represent by the burial 2 who was made after the robbing and broken the crypt in a yellow soil in the superior part of *dromos*. It is about a skeleton of a woman.

Also, unclear is the bones from "chamber" 2 where it was identified human remains of 3 children (a new-born, an infans I and an infans II) and from 5–6 adult – mature individuals. It could possible to belong to some graves. These problems will be established with further archaeological excavations.

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ROMAN BONE SKATES FROM HALMYRIS

ILEANA ILDIKO ZAHARIADE

Key words: Halmyris fort, Episcopal basilica, fragments of bones.
Abstract. The 2002-2004 investigations carried out in the barrack blocks no. I-IV on the Western side of the Halmyris fort and Domus 2, to the North of the Episcopal basilica, among other specific artifacts for these types of buildings, yielded several fragments of bones that proved to be of some importance in the context of the complex and multidisciplinary research of social and economic life in the area. All the fragments were recuperated, cleaned, processed, and assembled in the Laboratory of restoration of the National Museum of History of Romania*.

Cuvinte cheie: fortul Halmyris, basilica episcopală, fragmente de oase.
Rezumat. În perioada 2002-2004 cu ocazia cercetărilor efectuate în Vestul fortului Halmyris şi în Nordul basilicii episcopale s-au descoperit pe lângă alte artefecte mai multe fragmente de oase care s-au dovedit importante din punctul de vedere al cercetării multidisciplinare pentru contextul social şi economic al zonei.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT AND THE TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PIECES

1. Five fragments of a horse metatarsus whose assemblage resulted in a fragmentary piece; the posterior half of the diaphysis is missing (Pl. 1/a-b); dimensions: length = 27cm; diameter: 2.5 cm. The piece was found in barrack no. III, room 2, at – 0.47/0.50 m, on the level XII of occupation (578-599/602)[1]. The anterior part of the metatarsus shows clear traces of carving, aiming to create upwards beveled points (Pl. 1/2), while the rear part appears smoothly cut off and roughly polished. On the posterior part, the piece shows a flat smooth surface indicating a longer use. The piece appears strongly affected by fire. Traces of fire embedded into the bone are visible on the entire surface, a rather surprising feature, for the archaeological context in which it was found shows no traces of a generalized fire. This aspect entails the observation that, given the signs of longer utilization and the fire traces as well, the piece could have belonged to a period previous to the level XII, eventually from the XI level of occupation, which indeed shows massive traces of fire, identified on the almost entire investigated area.

The piece configuration and the way the bone was processed show clearly the manufacture of a skate.

2. A horse metatarsus found in the barrack III at –1.67 m; dimensions: length 22.5 cm; diameter: 2.5 cm (Pl. 2/1). Date: level XII (578-599/602). The piece is processed only at the front part, through carving of the cartilage aiming to create the same slightly upwards beveled point. (Pl. 2/2). The proximal epiphysis is cut off but not polished. The processing seems to have been stopped because the bone cracked at a certain moment. However, a piercing at the upper part appears to have been made before or during the fracture of the bone. The splinter of the piece entailed the abandonment of the piece processing.

3. A fragment of the horse metacarpus, with a commencement of processing; dimensions: length: 22 cm; diameter: 3 cm. Found in the Domus 2 area, O 3, ca. –0.80 m Date: level XII (578-599/602) (Pl. 2/5). Traces of intervention are visible only to the posterior part of the distal epiphysis, where the surface was

* I am deeply indebted to Georgeta El Susi, who spent time and knowledge to determine the provenance of the pices. I also thank the Director of the National Museum of History in Bucharest, Dr. Crişan Muşeţeanu for the comprehensive understanding and kindly granted time to me in order to process these pieces and Doina Şeclăman, the head of the restoration section of the Museum for her cooperation and help.

[1] Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, in Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Fl. Topoleanu, Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Halmyris* I. *Monografie arheologică*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 39-40.

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partially cut off following an attempt to pierce the bone. There has been also tried to pierce the bone at its dorsal part. Both operations were abandoned of unknown reasons.

The three pieces are particularly important, for they clearly show what raw material was used for this category of objects and especially how the processing began.

The study of technical details of bone processing and some specific characteristics of the three pieces offers, although only approximately, knowledge on the methods the skates were attached to the feet, the way they functioned during the usage, and especially a sketching out, as general rules applicable to all the pieces of the same category, of the reasons for their utilization.

A first observation is that all the pieces were made of horse metapodials. The processing seems to have begun with the posterior part of the bone. In case of failure of a correct cutting and piercing the continuation of that particular bone worki would have been abandoned, as shown by the piece no. 3. A closer insight of the bones show the fact that the bones were firstly emptied of marrow, either after a progressive of longer drying, or as a result of an on spot intervention. At approximately half length of the metacarpus, on the proximal part, a backwards oriented small beveled orifice was made in the already void bone. The posterior part of the bone was usually cut off and two lateral small holes were pierced through. (Pl. 2/3). Another incision on the posterior part that responded to the interior hollow bone was made underneath at equal distance from the two holes (Pl. 2/4). There were four orifices in total, through which the laces-possibly ox veins- for attachment to the feet were brought in as follows: two laces were run through the hole on the dorsal part, pulled out on the central orifice on the rear part; the laces were again run through the two lateral holes and were tightened up on the top of the boot. The remaining ends of the laces left on the dorsal part of the skate were used for a faster tightening of the skate to the forefront of the foot.

The length of two bone pieces raises the question of their users. The length of the pieces no. 2 and 3 would rather fit to a child's sole size. The piece no. I has 27 cm in length and it might be assigned to an adult use. The find of this piece in the barrack, in a military environment is also inductive for the person who used it.

This category of artifacts was found on the Danube line at Capidava[2], Dinogetia (Garvăn)[3], and Nufăru[4]. In the present day Bulgaria skates were found at Durankulak[5]. The finds were dated in 10–11th centuries, while the Halmyris pieces are second half of the 6th century in date, which is, as far as we know, the only finds of late Roman epoch in Dobrudja.

The find spots and the markedly traces of a long use detectable in case of the piece no. I entails an interesting significance for the Halmyris site, located at that time close to the course of the Danube[6]. The marked cooling of the climate[7] towards mid Ist millennium A.D. was highlighted for the Lower Danube in quite a few literary sources which stress on the freezing of the Danube in winter time. From Ovid to Ammianus Marcellinus, ancient writers described in an impressive manner this observable fact, and accounts of the freezing phenomenon

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[2] Capidava: Gr. Florescu, R. Florescu, P. Diaconu, *Capidava* I. *Monografie arheologică*, Bucureşti, 1958, p. 235; P. Diaconu, *Cu privire la patinele de os din epoca feudală timpurie*, SCIV 11, 1960, p. 177-178.

[3] Dinogetia: *Dinogetia* I. *Aşezarea feudală timpurie de la Bisericuţa-Gravăn*, Bucureşti, 1967, p. 94-95, Pl. 42.26; 42.24.25

[4] Particular thanks to Dr. Oana Damian for this information so as the Nufăru piece was not published as yet.

[5] T. Dimov, in *Durankulak* I, Sofia, 1989, p. 259, pl. V. Although the bones are considered human by the author, a quick look over the entire group presented in the table V shows clearly their animal provenance (Al. Comşa).

[6] On the environment at Halmyris see M. Zahariade in: Suceveanu, Zahariade, Topoleanu, Poenaru Bordea, *op. cit.*, p. 9-19.

[7] The cold climate of Scythia at later writers: Exp. Tot.. Mund. et Gent. 57; Ruf. Fest. Brev. IV 35; Them. Or. IX 121; Orph. 1372Ş Amm. Marc. XXII 8, 48; Paul. Nol. 201; Hieronym. Ep. 107,2; Philost. Hist. Eccl XI 8; Ennod. Paneg. II 9. A passage in Theoph. Confess. Chron. 6255 (763) gives an eloquent and frightening picture of the dramatic cooling of the climate. Under the year 763, he states: "*since the month of October a hard and terrible frost came up not only in our lands, but in the eastern, northern and western parts, so that the northern shore of Pontus, along a length of o hundred thousand miles, saw the sea frozen to a depth of thirty cubits, from Zinchia to the Danube the Cufis river to Danastris, Danaparis and Necropile: and the remaining shore down to Mesembria and Media suffered the same. Snow fell over the ice, fell again and added with twenty cubits more, so that the sea became one and the same with the land and could be trod on foot over the ice, from Chazaria to Bulgaria and other neighbouring populations, both by people and wild and domestic animals*".

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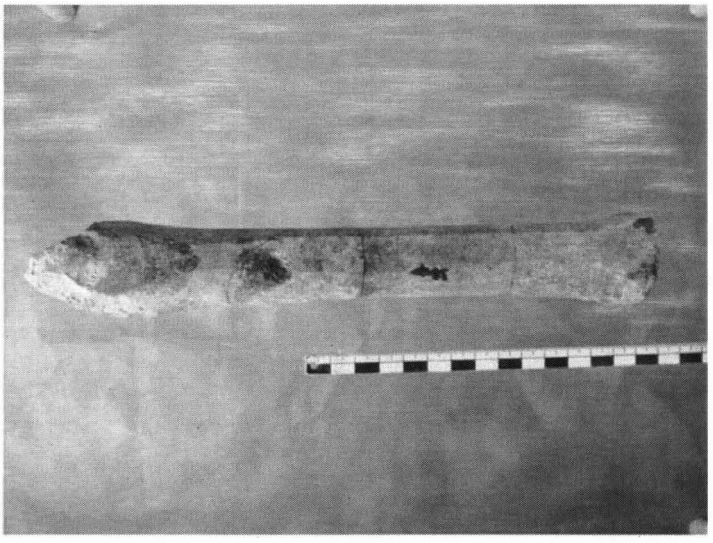

1a

1b

2

Pl. 1. Halmyris, bones skate (piece no 1): 1a – view from beneath; 1b – view from above; 2 – side view showing a beveled front end.

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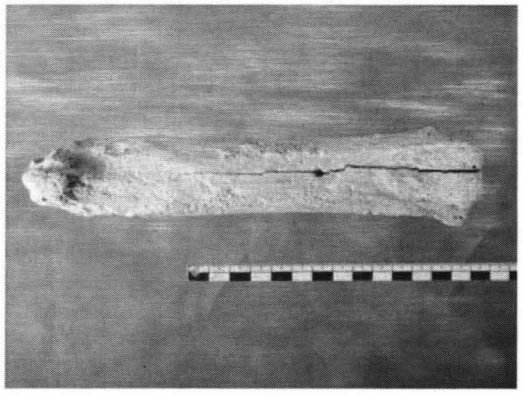
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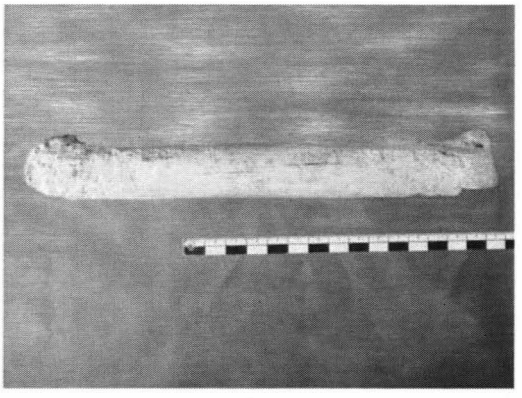
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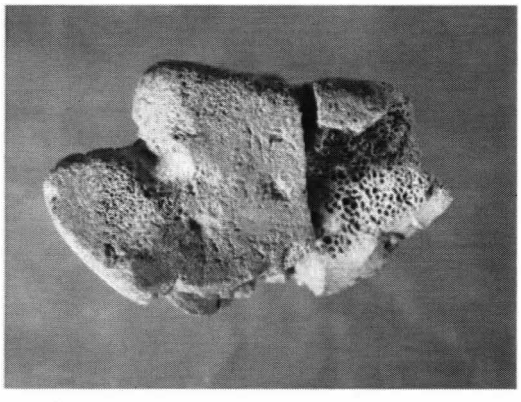
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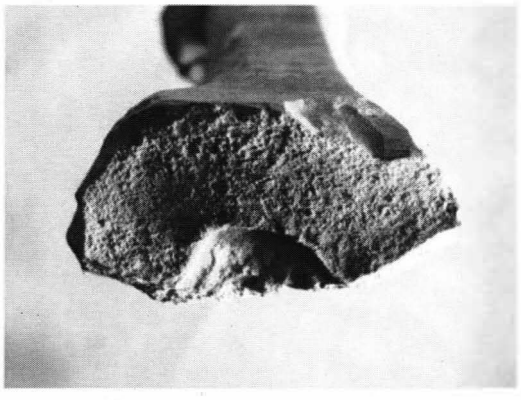
4

5

Pl. 2. Halmyris, 1–4 the metatarsus (piece no 2): 1 – upwards view; 2 – sideview showing beveled front end; 3 – the posterior part; 4 – the hole in the hind part; 5 – a fragment of the horse metacarpus (piece no 3).

appear frequently in 4th–6th century literature. Noteworthy were the extreme freezing of the Danube and the Black Sea in the winters of 383, 391, 400, 462, and 559, while Libanius alludes in the mid 4th century to how the frequent freezing of the Danube was propitious to Gothic raids[8].

[8] *The freezing of the Danube in late sources*: e.g. Lib. *Or.* 59, 90 (Foerster IV 252); Philost. *Hist. Eccl.* X 6 (383) ; Claud. *Paneg de tertio Cons. Honorii Aug* VIII 50 (391); Agath. *Hist.* V 11, 5 (559): cf. in general Ps.-Caes. *Erotapokr.* I 68. *Black Sea and the Danube*: Amm. Marc. XXII 8, 48; Marc. Comes. *Chron.* 401, 2 (401).

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The utilization of the skates by the Halmyris inhabitants, as it seems to clearly result from the find spots of pieces was certainly part of their daily life in winter time when the river froze almost every year. The fact made necessary the using of the skates as a way of moving on the ice of the river, as this type of bone skates[9] perpetuated with insignificant, if at all, changes since Neolithic times until the eve of the modern era.

[9] The use of the skates in north-western Europe is described by the Arab writer Al-Marwazi (ca. 1120) as follows: "*In those lands there is no chance to move on snow and ice, unless they attach to the their feet cow tibia and hold in their hands two sticks which allow to slide on ice with a wind speed*". (Lyzwy kosciane polnocno-wschodniej Europy swietle notatki srednowiecznego pisarza arabskiego Al Marwaziego (ok. R. 1120), Przeglwed Archeologiczny 9, 1953, 2-3, p. 393 (apud Diaconu, *op. cit.*, p. 177).

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ANIMAL BONES FROM THE HALMYRIS FORT (Murighiol commune, Tulcea County)

SERGIU HAIMOVICI

Key words: Murighiol, Holocene, archaeological excavations, animal bones, fish, bird and vertebrata remains.
Abstract. This paper analyzes the animal bones found on the Western side of the Murighiol fort during 2002-2005 archaeological excavations: fish, bird and vertebrata remains.

Cuvinte cheie: Murighiol, Holocene, săpături arheologice, oase de animale, peşti păsări şi vertebrate.
Rezumat. În acest articol sunt analizate oase de animale, peşti, păsări şi alte vertebrate găsite în zona de Vest a cetăţii de la Murighiol în perioada 2002-2005.

The ancient site, located close to the present day Murighiol commune, Tulcea County, is known as one of the few large settlements on the Sf. Gheorghe branch of the Danube River. Geologically, the zone has the platform basement formed by Protherozoic crystalline stratum covered by Triasiceous and few Cretaceous deposits, with chalky limestone sediments that come out at the surface; above these older sediments lye Quaternary alluvial deposits, loessoid deposits, sometimes sandy deposits; the big Delta of the Danube, the greatest part of very new origin, mostly Holocene lies towards NE, beyond the Sf. Gheorghe branch. Geographically, this one is limited to NE by the Danube branch that forms a large food-plain, sometimes with dead channels, being followed to the south by a higher part, slightly undulated up to the bottom of the Murighiol hill; that one continues like an islet the Tulcea hills. Pedologically, we find, besides the flood-plain soils (especially light brown sometimes turned into salted soils from which the name Halmyris), also disseminated spots of brown soils – that occurred in the past under a forest vegetation. The vegetation, besides a zone with a subfossil xerofithic vegetation typical for alluvial plain, show a steppe character to the south, with agricultural crops and secondary meadows; only on the Murighiol hill, spots of forest survived, containing particularly thermophilic oak species with *Acer tataricus*, a xerofilous tree. Beside the forest on the hill a secondary ligneous vegetation planted by man, containing autochthonous species but also alochtonous one (false acacia woods) developed. Azonale halophyle vegetation appears in the region too. The climate is gentler than inside Dobrogea, being directly influenced by the Danube Delta. A zoological reserve, called "Plopul/Poplar" exists today in the zone.

In what follows, we shall investigate a significant lot of animal bones found in the 6th century barrack blocks no. I-IV situated on the western side of the fort during 2002-2005 archaeological excavations carried out by principal investigator of the site, Dr. M. Zahariade. I thank him for his kind offer made to me to publish the archaeo-zoological material and for providing some archaeological information on the location and circumstances of discovery, of critical importance for the interpretation of the animal remains.

The fauna remains appear extremely fragmentary, but relatively reach in number. Around 700 fragments have been counted within the entire lot. About 150 pieces belong to the group of lamellibranchiate mollusks, represented through valves of fresh water shells pertaining to the *Unio* genus, with two species: *Unio pictorum* and *Unio crassus*, The first is more abundant. It is noticeable that these valves have different sizes. Some are large and full-grown, some smaller representing individuals in distinct stages of development. Many are not fully matured that shows that the shells were not uniformly and in a predatory manner gathered by the occupants of the barracks. The shells were gathered for food purposes indicating that some soldiers originated from the Mediterranean basin where the lamellibranchiate mollusks are part of the daily diet of the population. Although relatively abundant, because of their specific size, they can not be considered of economic importance but, like nowadays, rather a gastronomic habit.

THRACO-DACICA (Serie Nouă), Tomul I (XXIV), Nr. 1–2, 2009, p. 189–198

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Of great importance for the animal economy is the group of the vertebrate summing up 495 identified remains. They belong to three different groups with a real importance for the animal economy (Table 1). The about 50 pieces considered as unidentifiable pertain in fact to the mammals, but due to their excessive fragmentation was impossible to establish the osseous segment and the species.

Table 1

The frequency per fragments of the vertebrate groups at Halmyris (Murighiol 2002)

Group	Fragments	
	No. abs.	%
Fish	109	22.03
Birds	11	2.22
Mammals	375	75.75
Total	495	

The **fish** (*Pisces*) class represents one fifth of the determined sample (Table 1). Part of the fragments originates in *Teleostaea* – bony fish – grouping that includes the great amount of the sample. Few remainders were preserved from *Acipenseridae*-sturgeons grouping – fish with partial bony skeleton because of their cartilaginous nature. However, their external radiuses (ceratotrichia I) of the fins representing the linkage with the basal parts, usually ossifies and are preserved in most of the cases. One presumes the existence of three or four long-sized, over one, one and a half meter exemplaries, They could be the big Black Sea sturgeon – the great sturgeon (*Huso huso*) and the Russian sturgeon (*Acipenser Güeldenstaedti*), typical for the Lower Danube, Delta, and the Black Sea. The difference up to 109 bones is made by bony fish remains.

Some of them could be determined: a complete left opercula of a carp (*Cyprinus carpio*), 40 cm in length; another half opercula from the right side, belonging to another Cyprinid, but smaller; a left lower pharyngeal bone from a carp no elder than a summer; a part of the posterior epiphyses of the basioccipital, in the zone were is placed the "sour bone", originating in a carp of 30 cm; a ceratotrichia I, with the characteristic teeth of the dorsal fin of a medium-sized goldfish (*Carassius carassius)*; two dentaries, one with three teeth and another one with four from two individuals of pike (*Esox lucius*), of medium size, 40 cm were found also. The other remains are vertebra of different dimensions, two piles of 12-15 mm in diameter, undetermined as species. Individuals of 30-35 cm in length were presumed, taking into account their dimensions. Another grouping of vertebra, 20-25, 32-36 and 47 mm in diameter (one of them), have the epiphysis broken, making impossible to determine the species. These ones originate in larger exemplars, probably oldest carps or wells catfish (*Silurus glanis*) of big dimensions.

The **birds** sum up 11 fragments. Three of them belong to a very large exemplary, maybe a water bird, a stork (*Ciconia*): proximal epiphyses of a humerus broken, a portion of the proximal epiphyses and diaphyses of a radius and a complete ulna, of 230 mm in length. These three bones that were intentionally sliced representing the meaty part of the right wing; a femurus keeping the distal part (Bd. 13 mm) comes from an individual of a small size (like a hen); a fragments from a clavicle, and possibly the lower part of the pelvic girdle may belong to the same individual of small size; a fragment of a humerus (young individual) could originate in a hen; the other remains are small and insignificant. Bones of domestic hen (*Gallus domestic*) were not found, even if the species was bred in the region from the La Tène epoch.

Three fourths of the sample belongs to mammals (Table 1). This grouping of **Vertebrata**, always has the better representation in the faunal assemblages; it represent the most important category, due to their diversity in taxon and to their importance in the animal economy of the human communities. Five domestic species were determined: *Bos taurus* (cattle), *Ovis aries* (sheep), *Sus scrofa domesticus* (pig), *Equus caballus* (horse, in its broad sense) and *Canis familiaris* (dog) and eight wild species, in their systematic order are: *Lepus europaeus* (brown hare), *Castor fiber* (beaver), *Vulpes vulpes* (fox), *Canis lupus* (wolf) – these one with few remains, but important mostly for zoologists and geographers; other four wild species as: *Sus scrofa ferus* (wild boar), *Cervus elaphus* (deer, called Carpathian our days), *Capreolus capreolus* (roe deer) and *Bos primigenius* (auroch) – feebly represented in our sample, by a single bone.

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Table 2

The mammal-distribution of species per bony segments, fragments and presumed indiviuals at Halmyris (Murighiol 2002)

Bony fragment / Species	Homcores /Antlers	neural skull	Facial skull	Upper maxilla	Upper teeth	Lower maxilla	Lower teeth	Vertebrae	Ribs	Scapula	Humerus	Radius	Cubitus	Coxal	Femur	Tibia	Astragalus	Calcaneus	Metacarpzs	Metatarsus	Metapodals	Phalanx I	Phalanx II	Phalanx III	Fragments	%	Presumed individuals	%
Bos taurus	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	25	13	4	3	4	5	3	9	9	1	1	5	8	2	-	-	2	98	26.14	10	15,62
Sus domesticus	-	5	7	14	8	8	7	2	3	5	3	-	2	3	-	3	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	75	20.00	13	20,31
Ovis aries	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	3	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	15	33	8.80	5	7.82
"ovicaprinae"	-	-	-	1	1	4	-	7	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	18				
Equus caballus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	6	1.60	3	4.69
Canis familiaris	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	3	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	13	3.46	3	4.69
Lepus europaeus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.54	1	1.56
Castor fiber	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.54	1	1.56
Vulpes vulpes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	0.80	1	1.56
Canis lupus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.26	1	1.56
Sus scrofa ferus	-	4	4	12	10	17	5	4	5	4	5	1	-	3	1	5	2	3	-	-	3	1	-	-	89	23.74	16	25.00
Cervus elaphus	4	2	-	-	2	6	-	5	2	2	2	3	1	2	4	3	-	-	4	4	1	-	1	-	48	12.80	7	10.93
Capreolus capreolus	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	1.06	2	3.13
Bos primigenius?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.26	1	1.56
																								Total=375			**64**	

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Table 3

The ratio domestic-wild mammals

Group	Fragments		Presumed individuals	
	No. abs	%	No. abs	%
Domestic	225	66,00	34	53.13
Wild	150	40.00	30	46.87
Total			64	

Next we deal with the description of each species, providing metric data (Tables 4-11), the measurements were taken in mm; also we insist on the distribution of the bones of each species, the frequencies as fragments and presumed individuals (Table 2), kill-off patterns, etc... On the base of these data we try to sketch the peculiarities of the animal rising, not only by the military that defended the Halmyris fortress.

Table 4

Bos taurus (Murighiol 2002)

Bone	**Dimensions**	**No.**	**Var.**	**Average**
LOWER TEETH	Length. M_3	1	37	-
SCAPULA	Length artic. head	1	77	-
	Length artic .surface	1	67	-
	Width art. surface	1	50	-
	Width min. col	1	59	-
HUMERUS	Width inf. epif.	1	86	-
	Width artic. inf. surf.	1	78	-
RADIUS	Width sup. epif.	1	88	-
	Width.artic. inf. surf.	1	81	-
ULNA	Width radial surface	3	42-47	44.33
	Height olecran	1	119	-
COXAL	Diam. acetab.	1	62	-
FEMUR	Width artic. head	2	43; 45	-
	Width inf. epif.	1	93	-
TIBIA	Width inf. epif.	5	58-68	62.40
	Width artic. inf. surf.	5	47-61	49.20
CALCANEUS	Length max.	1	138	-
	Width max.	1	40	-
ASTRAGALUS	Length max.	1	65	-
	Width troch. inf.	1	42	-
METACARPUS	Width sup. epif.	1	58	-
METATARSUS	Width sup. epif.	2	43; 53	-
	Width inf. epif.	1	66	-
PHALANX III	Length plant.	2	78; 80	-
	Width plant. surface	2	31; 33	-
	Width artic. surface	2	28; 30	-

The **cattle**, known as big horned, has the highest frequency in fragments (they are the taller species among domestics, consequently the remains obtained by cutting are very numerous and of big dimensions, well preserved during times). As MNI (minim number individuals) they rank the second, below the swine (pig and boar).

The body part distribution (Table 2) emphasizes the lacking of the cores and of the neural and facial skull, just a mandible and three isolated teeth were found; among vertebrae, the atlas was not found, suggesting that for the army existed an administrative department, obliged to supply (at least partially) the food for the troupes in the region; it is supposed the meat for consumption was in a great measure ready sliced, the cattle head was not used in diet, being refused after the brain was taken out.

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Table 5

Bos taurus-complete long bones-withers height (Murighiol 2002)

Bone	TIBIA	METACARPUS		METATARSUS		
Dimensions	1	1	2	1	2	3
Length max.	298	(170)	189	213	215	227
Width sup. epif..	(90)	58	62	47	47	47
Width inf. epif.	68	-	58	58	56	(53)
Width min. diaf.	46	32	34	28	28	25
Index I	15.43	34.11	32.80	22.06	21.86	20.70
Index II	-	-	30.68	27.23	26.04	23.34
Index III	-	18.82	17.98	13.14	13.02	11.01
Sex	-	ox	ox	ox	ox	ox
Height (mm)	1028	1042	1159	1171	1182	1248
	Individuals		Var.		Average	
Height (mm)	6		1028-1248		1138	

Table 6

Sus scrofa domesticus and *Sus scrofa ferus* (Murighiol 2002)

Bone	**Dimensions**	***Sus scrofa domesticus***			***Sus scrofa ferus***		
		No.	Var.	Average	No.	Var.	Average
MAXILLA	Length molars	2	78; 78	-	3	82-88	84.67
	Length M^3	4	34-37	35.50	4	41-46	42.75
MANDIBULA	Length M_3	1	41	-	5	44-52	47.40
SCAPULA	Length artic. head	1	35	-	3	48-51	49.67
	Length artic. surf.	1	31	-	3	38-44	41.33
	Width artic. surf.	1	26	-	3	34-38	35.67
	Width min. col	1	24	-	3	30-36	33.67
HUMERUS	Width inf. epif.	-	-	-	4	51-52	51.50
	Width artic. inf. surf.	-	-	-	4	34-42	38.25
RADIUS	Width inf. epif.	-	-	-	1	43	-
ULNA	Width rad. surface	1	26	-	-	-	-
COXAL	Acetab. diam.	-	-	-	3	45-48	46.00
TIBIA	Width inf. epif.	2	30; 33	-	3	37-38	38.33
CALCANEUS	Length max.	-	-	-	2	54; 58	-
	Width max.	-	-	-	2	33; 33	-
ASTRAGALUS	Length max.	-	-	-	2	100; 107	-
	Width inf. troch.	-	-	-	2	28; 28	-
METACARPUS	Length max.	-	-	-	1	102	-
	Height	-	-	-	1	1.065	-
METATARSUS	Length max.	-	-	-	1	112	-
	Height	-	-	-	1	1.052	-
PHALANX I	Length max.	1	47	-	1	55	-
	Width sup. epif.	1	22	-	1	25	-

As far as the measurements (Table 4) one can assume that, for several bones a broad metrical variation was established, due partially to the sexual dimorphism, sometimes because of a large gap between the minimum and maximum value. The fact is quite visible when estimating the withers heights (Table 5). Different withers heights were presumed, generally the small values prevail, but a value of 1.25 cm was obtained from a metatarsus of a young exemplar. It should be possible that in Halmyris, also in other later

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roman sites from Dobrudja, a breed of ameliorated cattle survived, as a residuum, being brought in the region by the roman administration in the I[st] century A.D., to replace or to improve the autochthonous primitive breed[1]. From the same Table 5, we can say that all the determined individuals were gelded (bulls).

Table 7

Ovis (Murighiol 2002)

Bone	Dimensions	Ovis	
		No.	Var.
HUMERUS	Width inf. epif.	1	27
	Width artic. inf. surf.	1	25
RADIUS	Width sup. epif.	1	26
	Width artic. sup. surf.	1	24
COXAL	Acetab. diam.	1	30
TIBIA	Width sup. epif.	1	46
	Width inf. epif.	2	(26); 27
METACARPUS	Width inf. epif.	1	29 m?
METATARSUS	Width sup. epif.	1	24
PHALANX I	Length max.	1	38
	Width sup. epif.	1	14
	Width min. diaf.	1	12
	Slenderness index	1	31,57

Table 8

Equus caballus (Murighiol 2002)

Bone	Dimensions	No.	Var.
HUMERUS	Width inf. epif.	1	77
	Width artic. inf. surf.	1	72
RADIUS	Width sup. epif.	1	80
	Width artic. sup. surf.	1	72
METAPODUS	Width inf. epif.	1	(52)
PHALANX I	Length max.	1	93
	Width sup. epif.	1	49
	Width inf. epif. on tuber	1	44
	Width artic.surf. inf. epif.	1	43
	Width min. diaf.	1	35
	Slenderness index	1	37.63
	Inf. epif. index	1	102.32

Little information about kill-off patterns exist due to the reduced amount of teeth. Also, few data were furnished studying the suture stages of the epiphysis of long bones: according to them a distal metatarsus not fused (up to 2.5 years) was identified; among the 25 vertebrae just two have the body not epiphysed (below 4 – 4.5 years) and another two ones have the body just fused (4.5 years). Consequently the dominance of matures and elderly (even) was emphasized.

As fragments' distribution the pig ranks the second but he falls in the first place as MNI. Always the better representation of maxillary fragments determines a great NMI, but more closed to reality. Also a better representation of the kill-off patterns is obtained. The pig sample is extremely fragmented, no complete long

[1] S. Haimovici, *Studiul arheozoologic al resturilor din două nivele aparţinând secolelor II-III şi IV găsite în situl autohton de la Telița Amza (nordul Dobrogei),* Peuce 1, 2003, p. 490-491; idem, *Studiul arheozoologic al resturilor de la Dinogeţia (Garvăn) aparţinând epocii romane târzii,* Peuce 10, 1991, p. 357; idem, *Studiul arheozoologic al unor resturi faunistice descoperite în nivelul aparţinând secolului al VI-lea p.Chr. al cetăţii Histria* – under press.

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bones were found, to estimate the height. Few measurements were taken, indicating that the pig belonged to a taller breed (Table 6); sometimes a limit between domestic and wild swine was difficult to establish. We believe that the breeding of the pig in free conditions, besides the increased density of the boar in neighboring favored the interbreeding between the domestic females and boars, as a result the increasing of the pig withers height. The phenomenon is well-known in the present-days Danube Delta. As to the age class distribution, the situations is characteristic to a species bred just for meat and fat; we found exemplars killed bellow one year (youngs towards adults), adults and hardly matures, no old animals.

The **sheep** or small horned, with an important place in the animal economy, ranks the third. Only *Ovis aries* – sheep was found, the goat missing. A differential diagnosis was established for a small amount of sample, the greatest part of the material was introduced in the artificial category "caprovines". No measurements were taken due to higher degree of fragmentation. Two ram horn cores were identified and a third one much longer. The bottom of the cores was cut to obtain the horn for making different wares, but this raw material did not preserved in time. This was not done by a specialist. Also, the tips of the pieces were cut in all cases. Morphologically, the cores are not too bulky; at a half of the distance from the base they change the direction, turning outwards. Core of ewes were not identified, but this fact do not testify that the females had hornless skulls. The sample indicates that the three remains indicate three males among the five presumed individuals. Therefore the other two exemplars are females. The situation is ridicule for a sheep flock; thereto young animals were not identified. We speak about other aspects (cultural) than economic ones. The age class distribution outlines animals killed between 1.5-4-5 years.

The **horse** sample includes few remains, six fragmentary bones excepting the Phalanx I completely preserved. As a result we have no information concerning its morphology and size. Three exemplars were found: the first one is a younger (the aspect of the radius), the other ones are certainly, matures. The ass was not found (possibly due to scarcity of sample), although it was quite frequently used by the Roman-Byzantine armies in Dobrogea.

The **dog** is well represented by 13 remains from three individuals: one of small size, another one of medium size and the third taller. A rib bears a cut-mark intentionally made, but not for taking off the meat. In our opinion the militaries from Halmyris did not used the dog meat in diet.

The wild mammals spectrum is diversified in species, they were hunted mainly for consumption and other purposes; some items give to specialists information concerning the bio-geographical environment in the past.

Two bones belong to **brown hare**, a distal humerus, with the Bd – 14 mm and diaphyses of a radius, with a posterior concavity and an internal ridge. The species was used for its meat and fur. Its importance in diet is insignificantly due to the smallness of the tall.

The **beaver** is an element indicative for landscape. Its needs claimed tranquil river courses with riparian forests containing light essence trees. It is important because, for the second time we found it during the 6th century A.D in the north of Dobrogea, the species extinct later from local fauna[2]. It was hunted for meat, but mainly for fur and other bony parts. A fragmentary mandible with two teeth and a humerus not epiphysed proximal and distal (from a young exemplar) belong to the same animal.

The **fox** sample includes three bones of the same animal: a metapodius, a radius with the proximal breath of 10 mm and a coxal with the diameter of acetabulum – 13 mm. Only the fur is used from fox. Its links with the environment are feeble, as a non indicative element of the landscape.

The **wolf** has a single fragment, a coxal with the acetabulum diameter – 28 mm. We speak about a wolf and not a dog of big size. The fur wolf is not of good quality and it was hunted for its damages among sheep flock and roe deer population. The next four species are of big size, their hunting having an increased economic importance.

The **wild boar** has an increased frequency, surpassing the pig; as NMI is better represented than cattle, so we must consider the species as the preferred mammal for hunting at Halmyris. It was difficult to separate its material from that of pig, because hybrid exemplars certainly existed. Were preferred at hunting only adults and matures, the young animals missing. Probably this type of hunting was practiced by soldiers. It would be an interesting fact, keeping in mind by our contemporaneous, showing how it must be a hunting, ecological one. All the body parts are represented in the sample, mainly by mandibles. A sexual dimorphism was emphasized. An average of 1.06 m (tall) was estimated for two individuals.

[2] Idem, Peuce 19, 1991 (see the table with the frequencies).

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Table 9

Cervus elaphus and *Capreolus capreolus* (Murighiol)

Bone	Dimensions	*Cervus elaphus*			*Capreolus capreolus*	
		No.	Var.	Average	No.	Var.
MANDIBLE	Length P2-M3	1	130	-	-	-
	Length M1-M3	1	80	-	-	-
	Length. M_3	1	35	-	-	-
SCAPULA	Length artic. head	1	62	-	-	-
	Length artic. surf.	1	46	-	-	-
	Width artic. surf.	1	44	-	-	-
	Width min. col	1	38	-	-	-
HUMERUS	Width inf. epif	2	67; 69	-	-	-
	Width artic. surf.	2	57; 52	-	-	-
RADIUS	Width sup. epif.	2	62; 66	-	-	-
	Width sup. artic. surf.	2	58; 61	-	-	-
	Width inf. epif.	1	54	-	-	-
FEMUR	Width artic. head	1	37	-	-	-
	Width inf. epif.	2	61; 66	-	-	-
TIBIA	Width sup. epif.	-	-	-	1	36
	Width inf. epif.	2	49; 52	-	-	-
	Width inf. artic. surf.	2	44; 48	-	-	-
METACARPUS	Width sup. epif.	4	42-46	44.25	-	-
METATARSUS	Length max.	1	(233)	-	-	-
	Width sup. epif.	1	(35)	-	1	24
	Width inf. epif.	2	45; 46	-	-	-
	Width min. diaf.	1	19	-	-	-
	Slenderness index	1	8.5	-	-	-
	Height	1	1,049			
PHALANX II	Length max.	1	46	-	-	-
	Width sup. epif.	1	22	-	-	-
	Width min. diaf	1	17	-	-	-
	Slenderness index	1	36.96	-	-	-

The **red deer** is represented in our sample by a lesser material than the wild boar. Usually it ranks the first among wild species. All the body parts are represented in the assemblage. Firstly we talk about the antlers. Four big pieces were found, bearing work marks; usually the base of the perch is missing, therefore we couldn't establish if they were gathered from the forest or from the hunted males. One of them bears the "the wolf" branch, a rather rare thing. Traces of cutting and chopping were observed on the pieces, their working was not finished by the human action, consequently they were refused. We think the militaries in Halmyris didn't know that, the surface prepared for cutting (in case of fresh antler), must be firstly a little burned to make it softly and more flexible, less friable. This method was used since Paleolithic for rein deer antlers working and later for the red deer antlers. The traces of burning on the antlers revealed the using method.

None of the bones were completely, excepting a medium phalanx. So we can't furnish withers height estimations. An obvious sexual dimorphism was recorded at the red deer population. Age relating, animals killed below 1.5 years and over 5 years were not identified.

An interesting fact was noted when we studied the cutting-marks on the bones: in the part where the bone was cut many and successively traces were observed. That means that, "the butcher" of the animals was not specialized in butchery, maybe the operation was made instantaneously by soldiers; therefore, the great portions of deer meat were not brought into the settlement, from another location where, maybe existed specialized butchers.

The **roe deer** is represented by two individuals; one of them is a male (on the base of an antler). It is a species of medium size, like a sheep.

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Table 10

Canis familiaris (Murighiol 2002)

Bone	Dimensions	No.	Var.
MANDIBLE	Length cond.	1	154
	Length post C. cond.	1	134
	Length. post C. ap. ang.	1	135
	Length post C – çşancrura	1	129
	Length P_2-M_3	2	(69); 72
	Length M_1	2	24; 25
	Height max.	2	77; 81
	Height to M_1	2	26; 26
	Thick to M_1	2	13; 13
	Skull basal length:		
	1.by Dahr 2.average by Brinkmann		156,1 164,8 173
	general average		169
SCAPULA	Length artic. head	1	35
	Length artic. surf.	1	32
	Width min. col	1	31
HUMERUS	Width inf. epif.	1	22
COXAL	Length max.	1	(147)
	Acetab. diam.	1	23
TIBIA	Width inf. epif.	1	27

Table 11

Vulpes vulpes (Murighiol 2002)

Bone	Dimensions	No.	Var.
RADIUS	Width sup. epif.	1	10
COXAL	Acetab. diam.	1	15

The **auroch** has a single bone, a distal part of a rib, with a broad of 58 mm. That animal is of big size. If the piece originates in a large aurochs and not in a domestic male, that means, *Bos primigenius* yet survived until the 6th centuries A. D. nearest the Danube Delta.

The wild boar and red deer indicated a wooden landscape, even swampy. The roe deer and aurochs, the forest-steppe elements indicated wide open environments.

In after part we talk about the characteristics of the animal husbandry that, in our case is not typical to a customary settlement, but to a military unit adjacent to Halmyris fortress, this one having as objective to defend the northern boundary of the Byzantine Dobrogea. Certainly, the faunal assemblage brought to light during excavations represent kitchen remains accrued from the daily meal of the soldiers. Some other animal remains used to come from other activities performed by the soldiers or their co-habitants, remains that were thrown away too.

Some words about the soldiers' food in the barracks. The Bivalves (mollusks) remains illustrate their using as food, though they are small, furnishing an insignificant amount of meat. So their role in diet was negligible. We should consider that the soldiers practiced the gathering, an ancestral occupation and did not buy the mollusks from other persons.

One can not say the same thing about fishing that occupationally is related to water courses, in our case to the Danube Delta. Fish represented an important component of their daily soldiers' diet. Big exemplars of sturgeons, carps, pikes etc. were captured.

Also they hunted and captured (maybe gathered eggs in spring) big water birds. The cut marks on their bones point out that, their hunting was practiced intentionally during spare time, as a entertainment.

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The mammals assured the highest quota of meat (animal protein), essential to a balanced menu. The animal proteins furnished by cattle don't originate in animals bred by soldiers; rather they were brought into the fortress by a special corps of the army, charged with the slaughtering of the bovines. Al the complete metapodii came from geld animals. Maybe, the oxen were, primarily used as draught animals (or other purposes); afterwards, at an oldest stage they were killed (primarily were bought from marketplace), transformed in food for soldiers, but not of first quality, the meat quota furnished by cattle is higher and very important.

The other domestic species used as food are pigs and sheep. It seems the horse was not used in diet. At Murighiol, the pig and sheep have a higher frequency, surpassing the cattle, as MNI (though a pig totals about 1/3 from the beef meat amount). We suppose, the pig was bred by soldiers and also killed by them. The vicinity of the Delta assured favorable conditions for pig flocks that lived in semi wildness conditions.

Sheep have a lower percentage than pig (a mature pig weights about three sheep); they were kept only to be slaughtered (by militaries of course), even if bones from lambs were not be found.

Occupationally speaking, hunting had a highest quota at Halmyris. The militaries practiced it either for economic purposes or to train the psychic and the weapons. Besides fishing, the hunting, and capture of birds covered about half of the animal protein necessary/ per day, the task of the administrative corps being easier in soldiers' food. As mentioned above, among wild species the boar is more frequent than red deer, a fact in connection to the surroundings. The red deer is pretty abundant in the 6th century A.D. in Dobrogea, present-days its area is closed to the Carpathian Mountains. As for the meat amount, a red deer male weights like two boars, for that reason the frequencies of two species are equally.

After hunting and slaughtering a lot of "inedible" products outcomes: antlers, horn cores, fur, skin, bones, teeth, used by soldiers in many purposes; they were not specialists in manufacturing of these raw materials (see the case of deer antler working).

Taking into account the peculiarities of domestic and wild mammals, we can outline the bio-geographic features of the Halmyris environment in the 6th century AD geologically and geographically, the milieu was not too different from present days. It is possible, beside the Sf. Gheorghe branch another one would developed to south, that opened towards the existing Sinoe lakes system; this one, most likely was a bay of the Black Sea, with salted waters because the Argamum fortress was yet a maritime habitation. The closing of the bay and its turning into a lake with fresh waters started many times ago. Also the Danube Delta, used to be shorter than present-day; during 1,500 years up to now it took another part of the sea. The terrestrial space was seemingly to our-days but the vegetation was different; extensive forests, containing thermophilic mixed oak developed throughout, inclusively nearby the waters, but today they were extinct. Due to these woods, the environment of the fortress was not as arid as present. So, the surroundings consisted in waters and forests (low or higher forest zone).

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OML	– Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Leiden
PBF	– Prähistorische Bronzefunde, München
PZ	– Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Leipzig – Berlin
RE	– Real-Encyklopädie der Real-Encyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll), Stuttgart, 1893-1980
RIU I-V	– *Die römische Inscriften Ungarns,* Budapest-Bonn, 1976-1984
RMD	– M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954-2002*, I-IV, London, 1978-2002
RMM-M	– Revista muzeelor și monumentelor, seria Muzee, București

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TD	– Thraco-Dacica, Bucurcşti
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Zant	– Živa Antita, Scopije
ZPE	– Zeistschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn

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